Which Way to Magna Hungaria?

The Application of Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis to an Ethnic Origin Theory

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The following thesis is a fully original work by
myself as sole author.

All external sources used in developing the argument expressed herein are included to the best of my knowledge in the bibliography. The creators of all externally sourced images are acknowledged to the extent possible. Any discrepancies or omissions in the data and any errors in translation of foreign texts are my sole responsibility.

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No research can be conducted in isolation and a large number of individuals and organisations contributed to the creation of this dissertation.

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Abstract

Which Way to Magna Hungaria? - Application of the Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis Technique to a Theory of Magyar Ethnic Origin

This dissertation provides the results of a study that reflected on how the creation and dissemination of knowledge about the past was handled by researchers in the late 18th and 19th centuries – a period in history noted for extensive and profound political, social and economic changes all across Europe and the world. It pondered how living and working in an environment of major change may have impacted the researchers and their interpretations of archaeological data. The study examined this issue of 'environmental' impact on knowledge creation and dissemination through the prism of a case study on the impact of personal and professional influences on scholarly research within the field of ethnogenetic determination in Hungary. The study considered the processes by which one ethnogenetic theory - the 'Finno-Ugric Uralian' ethnogenesis theory (abbreviated to Uralic theory) - came to dominate scholarship in Hungary about the origins of its largest single ethnic group – the Magyars. Applying a new technique called 'Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis' (an adaption of the Knowledge Management technique of 'Social Network Analysis'), the associations of the scholars were profiled using historical biographical data coupled with psychological profiling, to determine those factors – personal, institutional and temporal – that may have affected their views and caused them to adopt a stance on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis. The study found evidence of manipulation of data and biased views both in the reporting of the data, and in the treatment of the scholars themselves, and that the data manipulation and treatment of the scholars not only impacted on the reporting of the artefact assemblages in the period but has had a lasting impact on Hungarian research into ethnogenesis since that time.

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Naming Conventions used in this Dissertation

To ensure a level of consistency throughout this paper, the project adopted the following naming conventions for the presentation of non-English words and names.

1. All non-English non-noun words are presented in italics at their first presentation, with later usages most often in normal text, unless repetition of the italics has been deemed necessary for the sake of clarity. English translations of these words immediately follow their first usage and are shown in square brackets, e.g. Tudományos Akadémia [in English, Academy of Sciences]. All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are the work and responsibility of the author.

2. For the names of people, including historical characters and chroniclers, the names used are the same as in the respective original language of the individual. For example, Josef Budenz was born in Germany, so his name is presented in most cases in the German language form, not the Magyar version (Budenz József) that is often found in Hungarian texts. The one exception to this naming convention is where the name of a scholar or other individual appears in a quotation (e.g. "Mátyás király", that is King Matthias). In this latter case, the name in the quotation is repeated as it was first written.

3. With the same exception of quotations, in all other textual cases, the names of individuals are presented using the English order of naming, that is – the title (where appropriate), then the individual name, followed by the family name. For example, Róna-Tas András dr. (Magyar form), is referred to as Dr. András Róna-Tas, while Széchenyi István grof (Magyar form) is referred to as Count István Széchenyi.

4. For Listings in the Appendices, the name order is surname first, then first name, then title. I also follow the English custom here of placing a comma between the surname and the first name, in all cases.

5. Where a scholar, historical character or chronicler is known or referred to by more than one name, the more commonly used name is placed first, with the other name or names following the abbreviation 'a.k.a' ('also known as') and in brackets. For example, Nimrod (a.k.a Menroth, Menrót).

6. For place names, current toponyms first presented in the text are those in the respective language of the location, followed by the English name in brackets, if one exists, e.g. Wien (Vienna), Moscwa (Moscow) Kviv (Kiev). The one exception to this is where a

location in the Carpathian Basin has had more than one name due to a change in its territorial ownership since the Nineteenth Century. In that case, at the first instance the historical Nineteenth Century Magyar name appears first, followed by the current non-Magyar name in brackets, e.g. Galgóc or Galgócz (Hlohovec). In later instances, the historical Nineteenth Century Magyar name only is used. This practice has been adopted solely for consistency with the period under study and for ease of presentation for the reader, particularly regarding the archaeological sites in the case study. The project stresses that the adoption of this convention is not intended to offend or illegitimate anyone in any other country.

7. Diacritical accents on vowels in Magyar words are used throughout, while punctuation follows the standard English form.

Chapter 1

Knowledge and Ethnogenesis: Intellectual Concepts with Practical Implications

When Bruce Trigger wrote *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2006) his stated focus was "the development of the main ideas that have guided archaeological thought". He specifically and deliberately omitted discussion of the "great discoveries, the development of analytical techniques, or the accumulation of factual knowledge about the past". He further noted that he did not intend to provide "a balanced coverage of archaeological research done in all countries or regions", nor describe "the networks of archaeological researchers that have played a key role in shaping archaeological thought". Furthermore, while he acknowledged that "social, political, economic, and institutional factors have played important roles in the development of archaeological thought," Trigger also affirmed that his primary goal did not include tracing those influences (all quotations from Trigger, 2006: xvii).

This dissertation takes up some of those issues that Trigger intentionally omitted, namely: the accumulation of factual knowledge about the past; the researchers who undertook that knowledge accumulation and their networks; and the contemporary social, political, economic and institutional factors that impacted on their views. Specifically, it examines how evidence about the past was treated by researchers in Hungary between the late Eighteenth Century and the end of the Nineteenth Century – a period in history noted for extensive and profound political, social and economic changes. It considers how living and working in that environment may have affected their interpretations of the data with which they were faced.

The study that forms the basis for this dissertation examines this issue of 'environmental' impact on knowledge creation and dissemination through the prism of a case study on the effect of personal and professional influences on scholarly research within the field of ethnogenetic determination. It looks at how one ethnogenetic theory, termed here the *Finno-Ugric Uralian Ethnogenesis theory* came to dominate Hungarian scholarship as the only legitimate explanation for the origins of the Magyar people of Hungary and the material culture evidence upon which the theory is buttressed. In this context, the study is directed towards examining the process by which notions first formed about the characteristics of the archaeology of the ancient Magyars and where and why interpretations of the artefacts used to support the *Uralic theory* altered over time. In taking this approach, I seek to determine how those initial ideas and changing interpretations might have been influenced by significant changes in the social, economic and

political environment in Hungary and, as appropriate, more broadly in Europe, from the last decades of the Eighteenth Century through to the end of the Nineteenth Century.

My interest in this topic derived from research I conducted for my earlier Master's thesis, in which I examined artefacts attributed of the ancient Magyars and dated to the first 100 years of their settlement in the Carpathian Basin. During that research I first learnt of the disparate views of scholars regarding the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis and the accusations of bias or methodological error levelled by the scholars against each other. This study does not attempt to respond in any way to those accusations. Instead, it looks at the early scholars who created or opposed the Finno-Ugric Uralian Ethnogenesis theory and the potential motivations for their views and actions. In doing so, it seeks to elicit the key influences on those scholars, both personal and professional, and then looks for evidence of any impact of those influences on the early archaeological reports associated with the Conquest Era that suggested a place of ethnic origin for the ancient Magyars.

The Uralic Theory

The *Finno-Ugric Uralian Ethnogenesis theory* (hereafter abbreviated to the *Uralic theory*) has two distinct, but inter-related, components – one linguistic and one geographic.

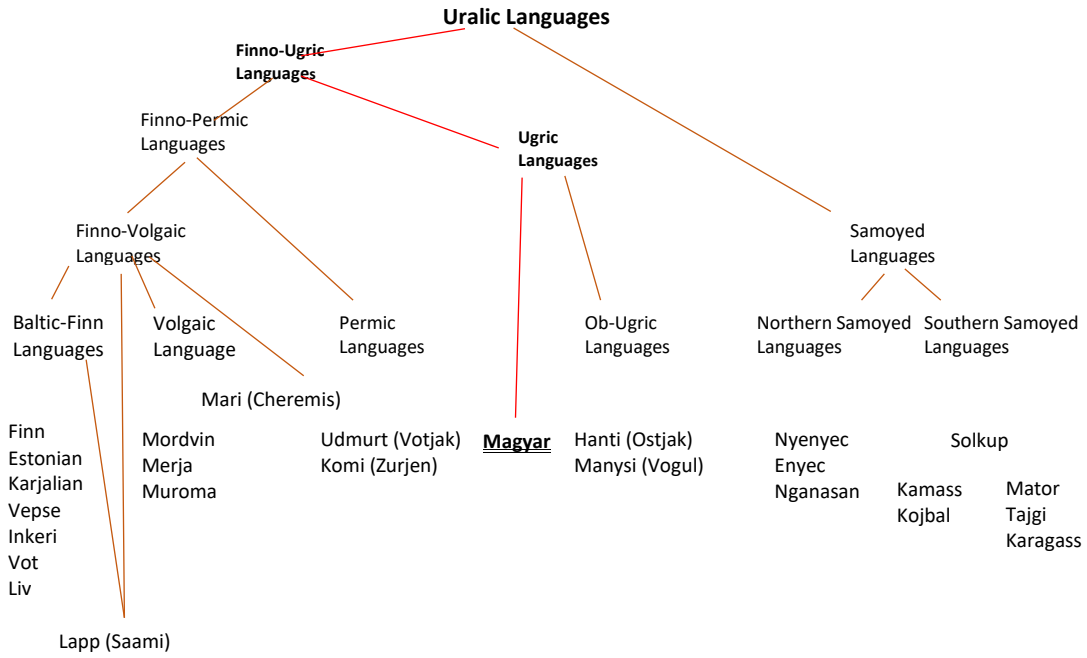


Fig. 1.1 - The Uralic Language Family. Diagram by Author, adapted from work by Nyenyec (30-12-2004) and Tommi Ojanpera (no date).

The linguistic component of the *Uralic theory* (as depicted in Fig. 1.1 above) maintains that the Magyar language, the national language of the Republic of Hungary and its predecessor Magyar Kingdom, forms a part of the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric arm within the Uralic language family[1] and that all languages within that family have a common linguistic origin. This claim of linguistic kinship was developed over several generations beginning around the Seventeenth Century with, among others, the Swedish civil servant and poet, Georg Stjernhjelm, (1598–1672) (Hugh Chisholm, 1911: 929) and the German linguist, Martin Vogel (1634—1675) (Gyula Décsy, 1969; E.F. Konrad Koerner, 1989: 270; Anna Morpurgo Davies, 2016: 45). The view of a Magyar affinity with the other Finno-Ugric languages gained some support among linguists, but did not progress to broad acceptance within the field until it was studied in more detail by Hungarian scholars in the late 1700s, beginning with the work of the Slav-Hungarian priest and astronomer, János Sajnovics (1770). His work was followed almost three decades later by the Hungarian lawyer and linguist, Sámuel Gyarmathi (1799). Then, in the mid-1800s, the theory was brought into prominence as the accepted view of Magyar linguistic origin by the German-Hungarian librarian and linguist, Pál Hunfalvy (1810—1891), and his German-born protégé and colleague, Josef Budenz (1832—1892). In Chapter 3, the lives and work of these four scholars are discussed.

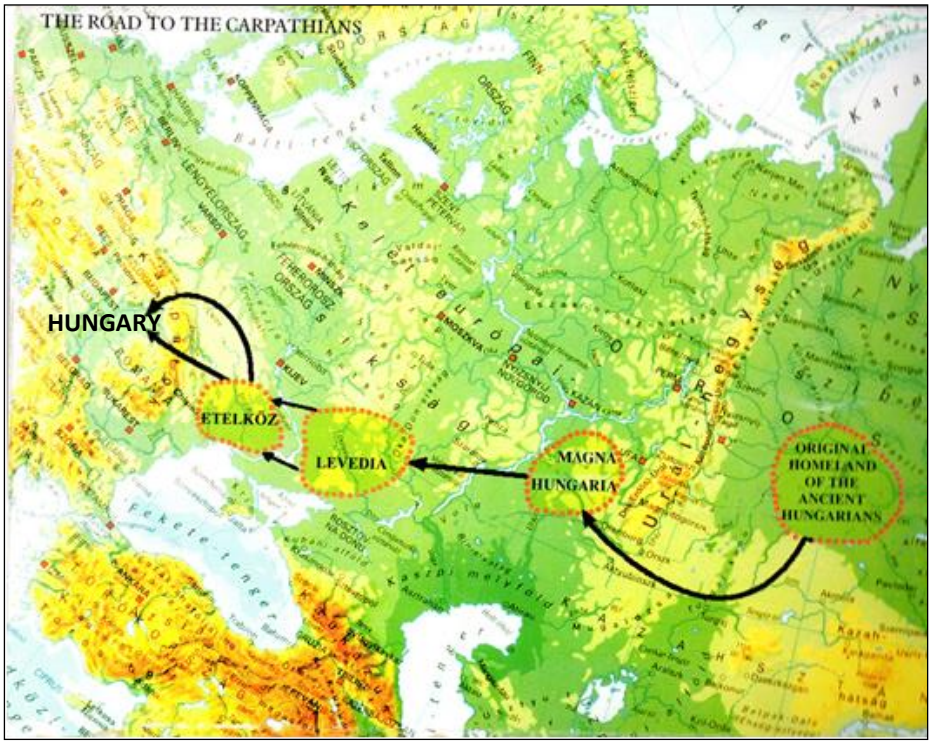


Fig.1.2 Purported migratory path of the ancient Magyars, according to the *Uralic theory*, from the steppes of the Ural Mountains to what is now Hungary. (Extracted from Fodor, 1996k: Frontispiece)

[1] The *Uralic* language family is generally illustrated as comprising Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic arms, which then subdivide further, and the Magyar language is one part of the *Ugric* branch of the *Finno-Ugric* arm. However, another recent view proposed by linguist, Peter A Michalove (2002) has suggested removing the second level *Finno-Ugric* and third level *Ugric* from the tree, and connecting *Finno-Permic*, *Magyar* and *Ob-Ugric* directly to the *Uralic* proto-language, making four distinct branches with *Samoyed*.

The geographic component of the *Uralic theory* (see Fig.1.2 above) came about only after the linguistic component had been developed and promoted as the only acceptable view. It maintains that the ancient Magyars who first settled in the Carpathian Basin around 896AD, had emerged as a distinct ethnic group of nomadic pastoralists in the eastern steppes of the Ural Mountains of today's Russia, c.2000BC (Fodor, 1996e:13). In this respect, the *Uralic theory* further contends that the descendants of those prehistoric nomadic pastoralists departed the steppe region around 500AD and progressively migrated westward over the next four centuries, making at least two major stops along the route at places called *Levédia* and *Etelköz*. Then, in the last decade of the Ninth Century, the Magyars and the remnants of some other groups who had joined with them along the way, were attacked by still another group called the *Pechenegs* (or *Besenyök* in Magyar). Fleeing from that attack, the surviving Magyars and their travel companions, sought haven in the Carpathian Basin, where they then settled permanently and established the Magyar Kingdom.

Attempting to demonstrate the validity of the *Uralic theory*, some exploration of the purported migratory pathway from the steppes to the Carpathian Basin has been carried out over the past 150 years. Prominent among the earliest attempts were the travels in the 1840s by the Hungarian linguist and ethnographer, Antal Reguly (1819—1858), who reported having found some linguistic similarities between *Magyar* and the *Manysi (Vogul)* language (Wickman, 1988: 792—818). Sándor László Tóth credits Reguly's work among the *Manysi (Vogul)* and the *Khanti (Ostyak)* with having "created a scientific basis for the modern theory of Finno-Ugrian affinity" (Tóth 2005:54), even though Reguly became ill and died soon after his return to Hungary and was not able to analyse and publish his collection of data. That task was taken up by his friend, Pál Hunfalvy, who collected and posthumously published his travel diaries and notes (Hunfalvy, 1864). Several expeditions led by the Hungarian noblemen, the Counts Jenő and István Zichy (1895—1905), also claimed discoveries of similar linguistic affinities among the people of the Caucasus region and further westward, as well as reporting on some unverifiable artefactual evidence. More recently, Hungarian archaeologists, István Fodor (1982, 1994: 47-65, 1996a-k) and Attila Türk (2011, 2015a: 45-55, 2015b: 137-144) have sought archaeological evidence in those regions to support the geographic component of the theory, but with only very limited success. Consequently, while the linguistic evidence to date is compelling for some relatedness between the Magyar language and the other languages collectively labelled *Finno-Ugric*, the archaeological evidence that would demonstrate an ethnic emergence in the steppe region and support the geographic component of the *Uralic theory*, remains scant and ambiguous.

As a consequence, much debate has ensued over the past 250 years, as scholars have argued strongly for or against the components of the *Uralic theory*, with some opponents to it, Hungarian and foreign, proposing their own alternative views.[2] Despite the underlying methodological and physical evidentiary issues continuing to be unresolved,[3] supporters of the *Uralic theory* claimed a public victory for their view in 1920, having successfully attracted political support for their stance within the Hungarian Government. While the *Uralic theory* then became dogma in Hungary and other theories were discarded as romantic nonsense, opponents of the *Uralic theory* maintained their views, with some emigrating to other countries in Europe and further afield in order to continue their work.[4] That impasse between the two camps continues to the present, with no resolution in sight.

The Hypothesis

Before proceeding further with the discussion over the issues, it is appropriate at this point to state the hypothesis that formed the framework for the research conducted for this study. The hypothesis comprised two distinct, but interconnected, elements - the manipulation of information to create new knowledge to serve other purposes, and the influence of external factors on archaeological reporting. In this context, the study has adopted elements of the post-processual stance first espoused in the 1980s by (among others) British archaeologist, Ian Hodder, that: "all archaeologists necessarily impose meaning content" (Hodder, 1986: 154) and that "the past is subjectively constructed in the present [and] is involved in power strategies today" (Hodder, 1986: 157). By this Hodder meant that all archaeological work, even with the purest of motives, could not be divorced from the environment in which it is carried out and that the influence of that environment on the achievable results always have to be considered before conclusions can be drawn.

Recognising the inevitability of that environmental constraint, it is asserted in this study that in some cases where archaeology had been used to demonstrate ethnic origin, evidence existed

[2] Opposing views on Magyar origins cover a broad range of issues. These include: arguments over the place and timing of the origin of the Magyar people's ethnic emergence with various other locations also posited; and the appropriateness of applying methods devised for the study of Indo-European languages to the study of an agglutinative language such as Magyar. Debates also exist over the possibility of a written language having existed; and of the probability of genetically identifying a Magyar, given the long history of cohabitation of various ethnic groups with the Magyars over the past 1100 years. For an outline of the main protagonists and their differing views on Magyar origins, see Marshall, 2008: unpublished thesis.

[3] See also János Pusztay's book titled *Az "Ugor-Török Hárború" Után: Fejezetek a Magyar Nyelvhasonlítás Történetéből* [After the Ugrian-Turkic War: Chapters in the History of the Linguistic Comparison of the Magyar Language] that was published in 1977 and detailed the debate that became known as the 'Ugric-Turkic War' of words and its main participants.

[4] For example, Géza Radics (1996: Pt 1), Kornél Bakay (2004), Ferenc Cser (2006).

that manipulation of information had occurred, in order to create new *knowledge* about groups and their ancestral territorial connections. Furthermore, while it is accepted that all archaeological research and interpretation are unavoidably shaped, to some degree, by exposure to the political, social and economic environments in which they are produced, it is further argued that exposure to such external factors encouraged the manipulation to occur. The manipulation of information that occurred in turn impacted on awareness and understanding amongst the broader community of the origin and heritage of ethnic groups within it. In this way, archaeology became an intentional or unwitting tool for the promotion of other agendas within the community.

Such manipulation of information was alluded to by the Hungarian nobleman and explorer, Count Jenő Zichy, following his first expedition to the Caucasus region in 1895. In his published report on the expedition, Zichy expressed consternation over a perceived lack of caution by some of his expeditionary colleagues in making ethnic associations about the information they had obtained, and, conversely, he criticised the negative response in Hungary towards the findings of the expedition (Zichy, 1896; József Szinnyei, 1910: 9). More recently, Romanian archaeologist, Florin Curta, has been highly critical of purportedly overt political manipulation of archaeological data by various Balkan groups (in and out of the Government) to promote their respective ideologies and agendas – political, social and economic (Curta, 2001: 367-384, 2007). For instance, referring to a Serbian study by Serbian archaeologist, Djordje Janković (1998: 111), Curta noted that "a recent attempt to legitimize Serbian claims to territory in the context of the war in Bosnia, relied on the re-attribution of the finds from Mušići to the Serbs (Curta, 2001: 372). While, in Romania, Curta noted a protracted history of frequent revisions of ethnic associations of finds between Romanians and Slavs, with archaeologists there taking sides in the debate fueled by the policies of respective governments (Curta, 2001: 373—375). Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett were even more blunt in their criticism when they earlier noted that: "the blatantly political manipulations of archaeological data is particular [sic] acute today in those areas such as the Caucasus and Balkans…" (Kohl & Fawcett, 1995: 3—4). While French historian, sociologist and political scientist, Marlene Laruelle (2006: 3—4; 2007: 203—216) discussed the situation in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tatarstan, where ancient shamanistic beliefs in a sky deity named Tengri, were being used by some to promote their own political agendas: e.g. of independence in Tatarstan, or, in Kyrgyzstan "a 'purification' of the country from all foreign influences" (Laruelle, 2006: 4; see also, Erica Marat, 2006: 12—24). At the same time, Australian sociologist, David Radford recently reported that a revival of Christianity among some Kyrgyz

people has been clashing with the Muslim *religio-ethnic* identity of the majority in that country (Radford, 2014: 15—28).

In having taken the stance that manipulation of information creates new knowledge for other purposes and that external factors influence all archaeology, I also accept and acknowledge that some such environmental influences may have impacted upon the formation and execution of this research project and therefore of the conclusions that were able to be drawn from it. Moreover, as English archaeologist Matthew Johnson asserted: "The meanings we produce are always in the political present, and always have political resonance. Interpreting the past is always a political act" (Johnson, 1999: 113). In this respect, I acknowledge the influences on my research include limits on research funding availability; my own personal experience and judgment and that of other contributors; and institutional priorities at the various organisations involved, both in Hungary and Australia.

Defining Ethnicity and its Variants

To place the following chapters into context, some definitional issues need to be addressed at this time, covering the terms: ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnos, identity, tradition and ethnogenesis.

Ethnicity

French anthropologist, Georges Vacher de Lapouge, introduced the term 'ethnicity' in 1896 when discussing what he saw as the *natural and counterfeit* characteristics of a population, that included the cultural, psychological and social characteristics, as opposed to the *race* of a population, which referred to its physical traits (Vacher de Lapouge, 1896). This introduction occurred almost at the end of the period covered by the study and, therefore, it could be argued that the scholars of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries did not think in terms of ethnicity. However, the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, as will be outlined in Chapter 2, saw a great awakening of a sense of community and a shared past among the peoples of Europe that created a broader sense of nation and a belief in *nationalism*, largely focussed on differences between groups. Each group sought to establish and impose its own individual identity based on those perceived differences. Although the term *ethnicity* itself was only invented at the end of that period and most discussion before then used the term *race* to identify different groups, Vacher de Lapouge's labelling of that sense of differences as *ethnicity* rather than *race* provided a more appropriate name for the concept that was then reviewed and refined by later scholars

to arrive at the view of *ethnicity* we hold today. As such, *ethnicity* is the preferred term used herein.

The next pivotal scholar in the definition of *ethnicity* as a sense of differences, was the German sociologist, Max Weber, who saw *ethnicity* as the members of populations subscribing to a view of common descent, based on "similarities of physical type or customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation and migration" (Weber, 1922: 56). Unlike earlier views, Weber emphasised that a blood relationship was not essential to that subscription and that the political community, regardless of its form, provided the inspiration for the belief in common *ethnicity* (Weber, 1922: 56) Weber further stressed that "this belief tends to persist even after the disintegration of the political community, unless drastic differences in the custom, physical type, or...language exist among its members" (Weber, 1922:56). In 1935, the British scholars, biologist Julian Huxley, and anthropologist and ethnologist, Alfred Cort Haddon, introduced the term *ethnic group* (that is, a group where the members share a common *ethnicity*), to more clearly distinguish the discussion over *ethnicity* from debates over the terms *race, culture* and *nation*, that were a feature of scholarly dispute in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries (Huxley & Haddon, 1935: 91—92).

In 1969, in an oft-quoted introductory essay on *ethnicity*, Norwegian anthropologist, Fredrik Barth, wrote about the boundaries of ethnic groups and the ability or lack of ability of members of different models of ethnic grouping to traverse those boundaries. He essentially accepted a definition of *ethnicity* as:

"a population which: 1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating, 2. shares fundamental cultural values, realised in overt unity in cultural forms, 3. makes up a field of communication and interaction; and 4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order." (Barth, 1969: 10—11).

Barth emphasised the use by ethnic groups of what he called *categories*, which equate in that sense to ethnic labels (*ethnonyms*) and further maintained that ethnic groups usually endure even when individual members traverse boundaries or are locationally dispersed (Barth, 1969: 10—11). However, he also pointed out that maintaining those boundaries requires continuous reinforcement of commonalities within the group and the exclusion of others from the group that do not share those commonalities (Barth, 1969: 10—11). In this respect, Barth viewed the sharing of a common culture as the "implication or result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnic group organisation" (Barth, 1969: 11). He identified several

characteristics he believed were essential to ethnic group maintenance (Barth, 1969: 10—11). These included: the exhibition by members of the particular traits of the culture, even where members living in differing locations had to adapt to local conditions; ascription of an individual to the group had to be overtly displayed by the individual member and recognised by others of that ethnicity; and the only characteristics that clearly differentiated the ethnic group from others were those regarded as significant by the group itself (Barth, 1969: 10—11).

Alluding to the work of Barth and his supporters, Russian anthropologists Sergey Sokolovskii and Valery Tishkov noted that ethnicity was defined until the 1970s in terms of linguistic, religious and racial characteristics, which were treated as primordial givens or the bases for the creation of ethnicities (Sokolovskii & Tishkov, 2002: 191).

In territories co-habited by multiple ethnicities, but where the state system is dominated by one of the ethnic groups, such as in Hungary, Barth further maintained that "ethnic identity is superordinate to most other statuses, and defines the permissible constellations of statuses, or social personalities, which an individual with that identity may assume" (Barth,1969: 16). He further contended that "the constraints on a person's behaviour which spring from his ethnic identity thus tend to be absolute and, in complex poly-ethnic societies, quite comprehensive" (Barth, 1969: 17).

If correct, then the ethnic association of archaeological finds in the poly-ethnic society of Hungary should be a relatively simple task, as each ethnic group's characteristics should be readily identifiable. Scholars reporting on those finds should be able to easily discern those traits among the many burials and settlement remains and agree on the ethnicity of the respective individuals. In Chapter 5, I explore the level of scholarly agreement on the ethnicity of finds when presenting the comparison of the archaeological reporting.

In the Soviet era of the mid—late 1900s, the term *ethnos* (a variant of the term *ethnic group*), came into use in Russia and what are now its former satellite States. Introduced initially by Russian anthropologist, Sergei Mikhailovich Shirokogoroff (1887—1939), in lectures he gave in 1921—22, his explanation of the term was published in Russian in 1923, with the paper then partly republished in English a year later (Shirokogoroff, 1924: 3—36). Shirokogoroff defined *ethnos* as "a group of people speaking the same language, recognising their common origin, possessing a complex of customs and a social system, which is consciously maintained and explained as tradition, and differentiated from those of other groups" (Shirokogoroff, 1924: 5). His work has been followed by other Russian scholars, notably: ethnographers Sergei Aleksandrovich Tokarev (1964: no. 11) and Viktor Ivanovich Kozlov (1969, 1974: no. 2), and

anthropologist, Yulian Bromlej (1970: 51—55, 1971: 9—33, 1972, 1973, 1974: 55—72). Tokarev (1964: no. 11) examined problems with categorising ethnic communities by type. Kozlov discussed first the research methodology and results of study into ethnos (Kozlov, 1969), and then considered the consciousness of their ethnicity for groups defining themselves ethnically (Kozlov, 1974: no. 2). Bromlej further elucidated the term *ethnos* in several publications (1970—1973, 1974: 55—72). He viewed the location of the members of an ethnic community as important, differentiating between co-located communities and those that are broadly dispersed, such as the Inuit, some of whom, he noted, are found in Siberia, Greenland, Alaska, and Canada (Bromlej, 1970: No.2, 1971: No.1, 1972: No.2). Recognising the geographical range of some ethnic communities, Bromlej introduced the term *ethnicoses*, which he defined as "a firm aggregate of people, historically established on a given territory, possessing in common relatively stable particularities of language and culture, and also recognising their unity and difference from other similar formations (self-awareness) and expressing this in a self-appointed name (ethnonym)" (Bromlej, 1973: 37, 1975). Later, Russian anthropologist, Tamara Dragadze, adopted Bromlej's interpretation when considering the role and interpretation of ethnic groups in anthropological studies under the Soviet regime (Dragadze, 1980a: 161—170, 2004: 15).

In summarising the evolution of the term *ethnicity*, Italian senior public servant, Guido Bolaffi, together with psychoanalysts, Sandro Gindro and Raffaele Bracalenti, and sociologist, Peter Braham, first noted work carried out in the 1970s on the linguistic structures of ethnic groups (Bolaffi et al, 2003: 95). They also noted a shift in approach, beginning in the 1980s, from *ethnicity* being viewed as an isolated entity to being more in terms of "the result of the constant encounters between different peoples" (Bolaffi *et al*., 2003: 95). This shift, they observed, was exemplified early on by the work of such scholars as Swedish anthropologist, Ulf Hannertz (1974: 37-76), and Austrian anthropologist, Eric Robert Wolf (1982), both of whom supported the view that "ethnicity can apply universally and without bias to all models of society, past and present, advanced and 'primitive'" (Bolaffi et al, 2003: 95).

Over more than a decade of writing on the issue of nationalism, British-Czech philosopher and social anthropologist, Ernest André Gellner, expounded on what he saw as the connection between *nationalism* and *ethnicity* (1980—1991). He viewed *nationalism* as a principle that maintains that the political unit and the national unit "should be congruent" (Gellner, 1983: 1). In 1990, Gellner asserted that the 'nationalities problem', as he termed it, of the Soviet Union arose not only between "ethnic groups and an imperial political center" (Gellner, 1990: 34), but also between diverse ethnic groups (Gellner, 1990: 34), indicating that ethnicity was an important fact that could engender disputation across multiple levels of association and

interaction. Thus, the ethnic identities of individuals (and the groups to which they attach themselves) have very strong implications and therefore, for archaeologists, the identification of individual burials with ethnic groups should be treated with care.

Gellner summarised the history of the interaction between politics and ethnicity in Eastern Europe, beginning with the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, which he deemed as the finalisation of the first stage in that interaction and named it the *religious-dynastic* stage (Gellner, 1990: 34). That stage was followed by the beginnings of nationalist sentiment (Stage 2), a period where people became more conscious of their connections with each other and wanted "either to belong to the dominant culture or to turn the culture with which they identified into the dominant culture (Gellner, 1990: 34). As a response to that need, Gellner noted that by the end of World War I, new smaller political units had replaced two of the three old empires of Europe (Gellner, 1990: 34). Gellner then characterised his third stage of the Soviets' 'nationalities problem' with the German words 'bei Nacht und Nebel' [in English, 'by night and fog'], an expression employed by the National Socialists of Germany in 1941 to describe their violent response to dealing with any perceived subversive behaviour (Gellner, 1990: 34). Gellner saw this approach as reflected also in the Soviet approach to dealing with their region until the dissolution of the USSR in 1989.

Following Gellner, several other authors also have written on the issue of the now former Soviet Union and its transformation into the much smaller Russian Federation, e.g. the Russians, historian and ethnologist Viktor Alexandrovich Shnirelman (1996: 8—9) and ethnohistorian Valery Aleksandrovich Tishkov (1997: 1—2). While these later writers have had the benefit of seeing the years following Gellner's third stage, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the impact of that change on the various ethnicities that then formed their own new polities, the general view of these later scholars still largely reflected Gellner's third stage summation.

Writing from a more theoretical perspective than Gellner, American anthropologist Philip Kohl (1998: 225), noted that in the regional interpretation of 'ethnos', the focus was on "objective, relatively durable, and fixed criteria, such as language, racial group, dress, house forms, cuisine, and other cultural traditions or time-honoured ways of doing things". According to Kohl, in the new post-Soviet countries, ethnicity continues to be viewed as the sum of the visible attributes of a group – both physical and material cultural (Kohl, 1998: 225), with less emphasis on other aspects, such as Weber's (1922: 56) psychologically-based group self-perception, or as suggested by Gellner's (1990: 34) second stage.

Essentially agreeing with Kohl, Romanian archaeologist Florin Curta, has recently described the view of 'archaeological cultures' in Eastern Europe as "still defined...on the basis of the presence or absence of a list of traits derived from typical sites or intuitively considered to be representative cultural attributes" (Curta, 2001: 367). By this, Curta confirms the persistence in Central/Eastern Europe of the *culture-history* approach to data interpretation, which, as noted by Trigger, considers historical societies in terms of distinct ethnic and cultural groups based on their material culture (Trigger, 2006: 235).[5] Curta also corroborates Kohl on the continued application there of the Soviet *ethnos* definition (Curta, 2001: 367, 2005: 4). While Curta's assertions regarding current Central/Eastern European scholarship may or may not be correct, his view suggests a significant difference in approach to research between western scholars and their colleagues in Central/Eastern Europe – a difference that may show up in their reporting and will need to be considered when the artefact examinations are discussed in Chapter 5.

Ethnic Identity, Tradition and the Magyars

In adopting the anthropologically-focused 'ethnos' interpretation of *ethnicity* espoused by Dragadze (1980a), British archaeologist (now Lord) Colin Renfrew, noted that while the term *ethnicity* in all its various interpretations implies "an underlying diversity" that diversity could sometimes be "self-induced [and] emphasised by differences in costume, jewellery, etc [and] be deliberately developed to enhance group distinctiveness" (Renfrew, 1993: 22). To exemplify this view, Renfrew noted that in some African situations, colonial powers have imposed *ethnonyms* on local indigenous populations (that is, they have devised new ethnic group names) to differentiate various groups in order to serve their own administrative purposes (Renfrew, 1993: 22—23). In doing so, Renfrew noted, those colonial powers have created new identities for people that may not reflect their original self-perception and past (Renfrew, 1993: 22—23). While the issue of imposed ethnonyms does not appear on the surface to be relevant to the

[5] The *culture-histor*y approach was first considered by the German pathologist and politican Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) (Trigger, 2006: 235). Virchow's approach was one of seeking "to identify prehistoric cultures...often largely on the basis of pottery types...grave types, settlements, and historical data..." (Trigger, 2006: 235). Prussian archaeologist and prehistorian Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931) was more 'racially'-specific in the views of the day, noting that "sharply defined archaeological cultures correspond unquestionably with the areas of particular peoples or tribes" (Kossinna, 1911: 3; Trigger, 2006: 235-236). This was then misused by the National Socialists in 1930s Germany to support their radical racialist policies (Klejn, 1999: 233). In the 1920s, Australian archaeologist, Vere Gordon Childe, adapted Virchow's approach for his western audience (Trigger, 1980: 56-60). However, in the 1960s, the *culture-history* approach was replaced among many western academics by a new 'science-based' approach to research named *processualism*, as discussed by British archaeologist Ian Hodder (1985, 8:1-26, 1991: vii-xi). That view, in turn, has since been contested by a more cognitive approach termed *post-processualism*, which is an umbrella term for a variety of recurrent approaches including: the *post-positivist* rejection of systematic scientific research method, the *phenomenological* focus on understanding individual experience within the landscape, the *praxis* approach that emphasises social interaction, and the *hermeneutic* approach which sees all interpretive views as possible and valid (Renfrew & Paul Bahn, 2000: 42-43, 46). In addition to these, Renfrew & Bahn (2000: 42) note also a *neo-Marxist* view of archaeology that focusses on changing the present in light of knowledge gained from the past.

issue of Magyar ethnic emergence, as Magyars have called themselves by that name since at least the Tenth Century and perhaps before, the imposition of *markers* of identity to create a tradition that then becomes accepted as demonstrative of a people's heritage, is very much a focus of the issue at hand, with regard to the archaeology associated with the *Uralic theory* and others. In 2005 Spanish archaeologist, Margarita Díaz-Andreu, together with British archaeologist Sam Lucy, defined 'identity' in terms of an individual's membership of a group and that the individual identified with the group "on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant" (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, 2005: 1). In other words, while an individual might seek to identify with a group, it was the collective group that decided who became a member of it and how its members displayed their membership. Thus, the acquisition and maintenance of an identity required both the individual and the group to agree on that membership and to act accordingly. Consequently, that view implied that external social pressure was placed upon the individual to conform to the accepted 'norms' of the group in order to be recognised and accepted as a member by the others in the group. As the topic of this study has been one of external influences on the scholars that may then have impacted on the archaeological reporting, this matter of the need by a scholar to be accepted by a group to which he aspires, has been integral to the analysis of the associations of each scholar.

A decade ago, American historian, Richard Wortman considered the issue of tradition and its impact on societies, which he exemplified by the representation of the rulers in Russian tradition and noted that in Tsarist Russia (that is, up to 1917) "myths and ceremonies elevated the monarch above the population as a distant and legitimate sovereign" (Wortman, 2006: 652). According to Wortman, the nationalist movements in Nineteenth-century Europe encouraged the Russian monarchy at the time towards "more demonstrative affirmations of the ruler's prerogatives" (Wortman, 2006: 652). That practice, Wortman observed, separated Russia from other countries, such as England, Japan, Germany and, most notably for this study, the Habsburg Empire (Wortman, 2006: 652—653). At the same time, Wortman noted that it became a tradition in itself for successive Russian rulers, beginning with the reign of Tsar Peter the Great (1721—1725), to be seen to be discarding the perceived wrongs of their predecessors and introducing their own 'innovations' (Wortman, 2006: 653—654).

Taken together, the views of Renfrew, Díaz-Andreu & Lucy and Wortman suggested that individual identity was based on association either with or against a group; while tradition was the demonstration of that identity through objects, such as clothing or other belongings, and was continued over a period sufficiently long as to become recognisable as distinct. Reflecting on Hobsbawm's view that some traditions could emerge "in a less easily traceable manner

within a brief and datable period...a few years perhaps" (Hobsbawm, 1983a: 1), this study reviews the earliest archaeological finds made in the Carpathian Basin and dated to the brief period known as the 'Conquest Era' (c.896—910CE).

In the 1970s, Hungarian folklorist, Tekla Dömötör viewed Hungarian folk customs and traditions as largely undifferentiated, defining folk customs as "the spontaneous forms of cultural tradition [and that] members of a community voluntarily conform to the communal modes of behaviour and action that correspond to living cultural traditions" (Dömötör, 1972: 9—10). Whether one might agree with Dömötör's interpretation or not, she raised the important point that various factors brought about the gradual disappearance and complete transformation of popular traditions (Dömötör, 1972: 11). She highlighted as key: land reform; structural transfiguration and technical modernization of Hungarian agriculture from the beginning of the Twentieth Century; improvements to the school system over time; the extension of the library organisation and adult education; and the implementation of a nation-wide network of radio and television (Dömötör, 1972: 11). Dömötör also gave the examples of marriage being celebrated quite differently today by young members on a cooperative farm when compared to the old village weddings, and that the tradition in Hungary of celebrating name-days (not birthdays) was also changing (Dömötör, 1972: 11). Thus, the industrialisation and modernization of Hungary can be seen to have effectively altered long-standing traditions and created new ones.

Discussing the nature of communities as being *imagined,* in much the same way as their traditions are then invented, Anglo-Irish historian and political scientist, Benedict Anderson, made the salient point that "all profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias" (Anderson, 1991: 204). By this, he meant that situations which caused major changes in the lives of people forced them to reconsider their ways of doing things and then, in some cases, to adopt new ways of doing things and *forget* the old ways, either actually or symbolically. This study does not consider changes in the artefacts of the ancient Magyars over time, as they adapted to their new life in the Carpathian Basin; that is a topic for another day. It does however, look for any indicators of such 'forgetfulness' in examining the artefacts in the context of their interpretations by the later scholars who reported on them.

Kohl also made the point that "the construction of a national identity for a nation of immigrants is a different task from that for a nation whose citizens believe [the territory] has been theirs since time immemorial" (Kohl, 1998: 233). As the Magyars of Hungary migrated to the Carpathian Basin from *somewhere else*, they effectively are a nation of immigrants and

therefore, in Kohl's view, the construction of their national identity has to reflect a past that included a life lived somewhere else. The *Uralic theory*, and most other theories of Magyar ethnogenesis, have recognised that need for establishing that somewhere else, but have differed on where it might have been. While this study does not seek to determine the location of that somewhere else, it does look at the motives for the scholars' willingness to accept or reject the tenets of the *Uralic theory* with regard to the original homeland of the Magyars.

Ethnogenesis and its Interpretation in Scholarly Research

Since Huxley & Haddon's (1935: 91—92) introduction of the term *ethnic group*, many studies have been conducted into the concept of *ethnicity* and its application in the social world. For instance, Lucy discussed the changes in interpretation of *ethnicity* that have occurred in recent years (Lucy, 2005: 86—109). Taking the concept of *ethnicity* out of Childe's (1929: v—vi) *culture-history* mode of association with *things* and *customs*, Lucy (2005: 86—109) placed it into a mode of *thinking* and *self-awareness*, in which the individual associates him or herself with ideas that are acceptable to a group with whom they want or need to identify. As Lucy noted, the progression from one mode to the other was a long and indirect one, and along the way the study of ethnicity experienced changes in the level of scholarly interest in the topic (Lucy, 2005: 88). Lucy further noted that the period from the 1950s through to the 1980s was characterised by a scholarly lack of interest in the topic of ethnicity in Western Europe and the United States, where the new push for explicitly scientific research into the past saw greater emphasis placed on socio-economic theories (Lucy, 2005: 88, 91).

The term *ethnogenesis*, which is at the core of this study, of itself has no political connotations, but refers only to the beginnings of a self-identified group of people. Americans, Terry Boswell, a sociologist, and William J. Dixon, a political scientist, (Boswell & Dixon, 1993: 685), and later Indian-American sociologist, Prema Kurien (1994: 385), have explained *ethnogenesis* as a process "that unites individuals into self-identifying groups", stressing that the unification occurs over a period. While defining *ethnogenesis* simply as the "initial formation of a given ethnic group" (Kohl, 1998: 232), Kohl also noted that it "became central to the practice of Soviet ethnology, archaeology, and physical anthropology from the mid-1930s" (Kohl, 1998: 232). He further emphasised that the task of establishing the ethnogenesis of a group was a "central task...of Soviet archaeology when the discipline switched from a Marxist inspired internationalism (or...politically motivated universalism) to one concerned principally with the ethnogenetic history of the early Slavs" (Kohl, 1998: 232). By this, Kohl was saying that the search for the origins of the Slavs became the prime focus of Soviet archaeology, suggesting that Soviet

archaeology had thus become too narrowly-focussed and may also have become somewhat biased in its interpretations. With some opponents of the *Uralic theory* having accused its supporters of bias against alternative views of Magyar origins, this study seeks to determine also if a similarly narrow focus, or perhaps even bias, existed within or could be inferred from the early scholars' interpretations of the artefacts.

Archaeologists and their Role in Ethnogenetic Determination

Archaeology as a discipline and archaeologists as its practitioners have both at different times, in various circumstances and in various locations, been posited as tools used by vested interests for the manipulation of ideas and people. Trigger put it very bluntly, when he said: "the history of archaeology reveals that the political uses that have been made of that discipline's 'findings' have promoted bigotry, violence and destruction, at least as often as they have promoted social justice" (Trigger, 1995: 263—264). Kohl and Canadian anthropologist, Clare Fawcett, have reviewed a number of incidences where nationalism and politics have greatly influenced archaeological practice (Kohl & Fawcett, 1995: 3—4). They concluded that the concurrence in the Nineteenth Century between the development of archaeology as a discipline and the rise of nationalism was natural and inevitable, but not necessarily corrupt or intrinsically suspect (Kohl and Fawcett, 1995: 3—4). However, they also acknowledged that areas such as the Caucasus and Balkans have exemplified situations of blatant political manipulation of archaeological data (Kohl and Fawcett, 1995: 3—4). Díaz-Andreu and her co-author, British archaeologist Timothy Champion, took that view even further, seeing the relationship between archaeology and nationalism as symbiotic, with archaeology's development from a recreational curiosity into a discipline in the Nineteenth Century as dependent upon the existence of nationalism (Díaz-Andreu & Champion, 1996: 2—3). They further claimed that the relationship has affected archaeological practice in every country since that time (Díaz-Andreu & Champion, 1996: 2—3). Maintaining that the focus of Balkan archaeology has been on proving or disproving the longevity of various ethnic groups, American archaeologist Timothy Kaiser (1995: 113) noted that: "the Balkan past has been made to serve...mutually reinforcing goals." He listed these goals as: "(a) the establishment of political and territorial legitimacy; (b) the buttressing of political ideology; (c) the maintenance of cultural identity; and (d) the invention of tradition" (Kaiser. 1995: 113).

Accusations of manipulation have largely been associated with politics. They have tended to concentrate on circumstances where the manipulation is perceived as being carried out by either incumbent political regimes to further their own policies, aspiring political leaders

needing to attract broad support to their cause, or those seeking to influence political leaders to serve other vested interests. Whether viewed as a positive or negative, as the American political scientist David Art noted: "the way in which a state confronts the past [directly or indirectly] has profound implications for its long-term political development" (Art, 2006: 4). In this vein, Shnirelman observes that: "Nowadays when politicians and the general public discuss Russia's future, one cannot help but notice the prevalence of archaeological, ethnological and linguistic data within this discourse" (Shnirelman, 2008: 31).

In seeking to establish the ethnogenesis of various ethnicities, Kohl (1998: 223—246) discussed at length how archaeologists have often found themselves entangled in what has become over time a highly contested and volatile arena, with significant and long-lasting political, social and economic implications attached to any find they make. English archaeologist Peter J. Ucko pointed out that: "Objectivity is strikingly absent from most archaeological exercises in interpretation" (Ucko, 1990: xi), with such cases of politicisation of archaeological finds and interpretations having occurred across the globe. One notable example is the manipulation of archaeology to support the racist policies of Nazi Germany, as noted earlier, and discussed variously by American anthropologist Bettina Arnold (1990: 549—569), Ucko (1990: xii), and Arnold again writing with German prehistorian and archaeologist Henning Hassman (Arnold & Hassman, 1995: 70-81). Another is the debate over the association of ruins in Zimbabwe with the Shona people or, more broadly, with the Ndebele, as discussed by British-South African anthropologist Martin Hall (1990: 59—77, 1995: 28—45) or by American ethnoarchaeologist and linguistic anthropologist Peter R. Schmidt (1995: 126—127). The Argentinian scholars, anthropologist and historian Irina Podgorny and archaeologist Gustavo Politis, also have discussed their own country's misuse of archaeological interpretation to deny the existence of parts of Argentina's population (Podgorny & Politis, 1990—1992: 73—79). With such a strong focus in the literature on the interdependence of politics and archaeology in justifying actions of incumbent or aspiring regimes or the supporters of each, the issue of political influence in the lives and work of the scholars in this case study necessarily forms an important element, although it is not the only one.

Sensitivity to the Issue

On the issue of politics in archaeology, the literature review also highlights an apparent sensitivity within Hungarian academic circles today towards the issue of ethnogenetic research in general, and especially the association of finds with particular ethnic groups in Hungary. While unstated anywhere in the literature, the clear message from the absence of any such association

in more recent texts was that the making of such associations had fallen out of favour among current Hungarian academics. The reasons for that change needed to be explored during the in-country research. Therefore, to overcome any potential obstacles to the in-country research imposed by that change in approach, it was determined that informal discussions with local 'experts' in Hungary, rather than formal interviews, were needed. The informality of such discussions was considered more likely to facilitate greater openness from the experts regarding current views and understandings of the issues, as well as providing additional guidance on further useful literature.

Evaluating Possible Approaches to Conducting the Research

Current Research Approaches Available

The nature of this study, looking at unquantifiable aspects and their impacts, was such that a qualitative research method was seen as the right approach. Existing qualitative research techniques, such as *discourse analysis*, *narrative* or *memory studies*, are commonly employed within the allied fields of historiography, ethnohistory or literary studies, to carry out such research. Such techniques can offer useful insights on the views of scholars in a field or about a particular issue, and the benefits and disadvantages of using those various techniques were considered.

Discourse analysis, for instance, at a very general level takes the words and other information conveyors,[6] written or spoken, and analyses them to determine underlying meanings and potential influences.[7] Norman Fairclough (1997, 2001a: 25-38, 2001b: 121-138), a proponent of critical discourse analysis (CDA), developed a method for studying discourse, in which he looked at three types of analysis: that of the language of texts (both written and spoken); the production, distribution and consumption of the texts; and the tangents taken in texts that may have a social or cultural origin. He saw these at three levels – macro, meso and micro. At the macro level, the analysis involved the broader, societal issues that could impact on the text; while at the meso level Fairclough was interested in the audience anticipated for a text and the impact the potential audience might have on the nature of the text. At the micro level, he looked at the actual words and their syntactic variability, together with the use of metaphor and

[6] Apart from the actual words used, those information conveyors can include: intonation, gestures, syntax, the style of text or speech, the use of rhetoric, connotations, presentation strategies, and movements during the presentation.
[7] Many texts have been written discussing the various theoretical and methodological approaches taken to defining and analysing discourse. Useful explanations and the arguments for and against these various approaches are provided by: Teun Andrianus van Dijk (2000: 352—371); Ruth Wodak & Fairclough (1997: 258—284); Fairclough (2001a: 25—38, 2001b: 121—138); Terry Threadgold (*Linguistick online* 14, 2/03); and Viatcheslav A. Yatsko (2016).

rhetorical statements, as a means of eliciting the consumer's response. While the research conducted here involves consideration of the scholars' writings at all these levels, with CDA's focus on the texts, not on the scholars themselves, that approach was considered inappropriate to the direction that the study seeks to take. The intention of this study is to look at the scholars' lives and deduce their motivations for or against the *Uralic theory* from their actions and associations, as well as the words they may have written or spoken, rather than focussing only on their words. *Discourse analysis* does not look at the lives of the authors to determine influences that are not clearly evident in their written or spoken text, such as amendments made to conclusions in a text before the text is published, especially where the text is the only one produced by the author on the topic and therefore is not able to be compared for content with other texts by him on the same topic. Nor does discourse analysis consider situations where omissions are made in a text and those omissions may have been made as a result of the author not wanting to express a view publicly that could have a potentially adverse effect on another writer or his work. With the possibility for such unarticulated instances to be present in the writings of the scholars in this research, the choice was made to discount the use of *Discourse analysis* as the study's preferred analytical technique.

Similarly, the techniques applied in *memory studies* were assessed as inadequate or unsuitable to achieve the study's aims. A developing area of research that emerged towards the end of the Twentieth Century, *Memory studies* are focussed on examining the use of memory in the present as a tool for recollecting past events. Memory is studied at the individual and collective levels and can be singular or multi-directional in its nature. The impact of more recent events and experiences on the remembering of earlier times is one important part of such studies, which may have relevance to the scholars' interpretations of the ancient Magyar past in light of the rapidly changing environment in which they lived. In 1992, French historian, Pierre Nora, wrote critically about two commemorations in France of the 1789 French Revolution, the first in May 1968 and the second, the bicentennial, in 1989 (Nora, 1992: 609—707). In assessing their different approaches, both of which he saw as flawed, Nora resolved that:

"what today is commonly called memory...in fact marks the advent of historical consciousness of defunct traditions, the reconstitutive recovery of phenomena from which we are separated and which are most directly of interest to those who think of themselves as the descendants and heirs of such traditions...[that] the group's memory is in fact its history" (Nora, 1992: 626).

By this, Nora meant that both individual and collective group memory are dependent on time and the motives of those concerned. As such, memory is subject to the effects of intervening

events, and is a highly-subjective method of recording of the past. Therefore, history, which is often the recording of events from memory, is subject to those same qualifications of time and motive. American academics, Emily Keightley and Michael Pickering, recently made the further point that research in '*memory studies'* is currently a multi-disciplinary area, but not yet an inter-disciplinary one, and that "We shall only be able to develop our interdisciplinarity...when we are clear about why we have adopted [the many methodological] premises in our diverse projects and how they may be made to communicate [with] each other" (Keightley and Pickering, 2013: 9). By this, they meant that currently there is no agreed method of studying memory among its many diverse practitioners and, therefore, that the range of possible outcomes from such a diversity of approaches greatly limits their broader application. For this reason, research under the umbrella of *memory studies,* was also discounted for this study.

Technological Assistance Available

Looking then at the possible use of existing technologies to undertake mapping and analysis of the profiles, some existing software systems were considered, with the currently most promoted of these being *NVivo for Discourse Analysis*[8]. However, this software and others like it, collectively called CAQDAS,[9] were also discounted for a number of reasons. A critical factor in this study was their lack of support for the Magyar language, which would have made it necessary to first translate every piece of possible Magyar text into English before being able to evaluate its usefulness and then to format those found suitable to any chosen software's coding requirements[10] - a significant disincentive. Expert reviews of the products also noted the analytical limitations of such software (Graham R. Gibbs *et al*, 2005a: OnlineQDA), their high purchase and licencing costs, significant learning requirement before they could be used (Cfap, no date: 1), and the potential for false results due to their coding requirements (Collins Zamawe, 2015: 15; Gibbs *et al*, 2005b: OnlineQDA).[11]

[8] *NVivo for Discourse Analysis* is one of the most popular and adaptable of the software packages currently available on the market. The version of this software that most closely approximated, but did not meet, the needs of this study was *NVivo Premium Plus*. This software retails for AU$1200, plus a licence costing AU$580 for 36 months. As such, it was well beyond the available budget for this research. Other less expensive software systems, but with less suitable functionality than *NVivo Premium Plus*, while still demanding a significant portion of the available budget, would have proved even less cost-effective.

[9] CAQDAS is an acronym for 'Computer-Assisted [or Aided] Qualitative Data Analysis Software'. NVivo is one such software system.

[10] The languages supported in NVivo are English, French, German, Chinese, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese. All of the languages have very different sentence structures and nuances to the Magyar language, where much of the material used in this study was located. At the same time, NVivo does not support the use of multiple languages, so those texts in German, French and other langauges would also have had to be translated first, seeing the database could be populated with their data.

[11] In reviewing CAQDAS systems in general, British sociologists Graham R. Gibbs, Ann Lewins & Christina Silver noted that each software has its own coding requirements, which impose constraints on the nature of the information that

A New Approach was Needed

Reflecting on the nature of the restrictions imposed by techniques such as *Discourse analysis*, the current immaturity of the field of *Memory studies*, and the limitations noted of existing software systems, it was determined that none of these would adequately address, in an appropriately-nuanced manner, the multi-dimensional nature of the study. Dealing with scholars across different disciplines, and with different life experiences, writing at different times, about different aspects of a broad and highly-debated topic, while surrounded by accusations of bias and methodological error, would require a different approach. Moreover, none of the existing techniques or software systems were designed to then apply those qualifications of difference amongst the scholars to consideration of the reporting of archaeological artefacts by only some and to track that reporting through time. Thus, the decision was made to forego the use of those techniques and software systems and to devise a research method that, while reflective of the principles of those techniques and software systems, would incorporate all the qualifications and tracking required, and present the results of the study in a meaningful and coherent manner, within existing resources and budget.

The new method, whilst it takes on board those principles and, therefore, bears some resemblance to the other methods and systems, nevertheless is unique, in that it searches for clues of potential influences in an inverse manner, by first searching the scholars' lives and associations, and then, through mapping connections found there, seeking to identify the influential interactions. The results of that mapping can then be applied to the reports of archaeological material culture to seek the presence of such influences in that reporting. Such a method needs to take account of not only each scholar's actual words, but also their unstated personal motivations and biases, and any evidence of a need for group acceptance. The method creates a biographical and psychological 'profile' of each scholar, that can be mapped to incorporate both the spatial and temporal elements of his life and associations. The map can then be analysed to locate where the important interactions can be found and indicate the strength of influence, suggesting those that appear to have the greatest influence over the scholar. Having considered each scholar in isolation, the method then combines the various biographic profiles and elicits those institutional or personal influences that occurred with the greatest frequency across the profiles and which could thus be considered to have had the greatest potential influence across the cohort, that is, be the 'influence hubs'. Identification of

can be input to it and the form the data must take, which in turn impacts on the types of searches that can be made and the nature of the producable results (Gibbs *et al*, 2005b: OnlineQDA).

these hubs then enables further analysis so as to determine the level of their influence-capability and to ascertain whether that capability had manifested in any discernible way in the scholars' work. For those scholars who reported on the artefacts, the findings from the analysis of their individual or collective hubs of influence can then be correlated temporally with their reporting of the artefacts, to discern whether evidence existed of any ethnicity-related influence on their data interpretations having derived from those individual or collective hubs.

The technique requires four inter-related tasks. The first task is to compile the knowledge available on the scholars and their work and identify and fill, where possible, any gaps in that knowledge. Extraction, mapping and analysis of the personal and organisational activities and relationships of the scholars, as indicated in the literature, then forms the second task. The third one comprises an initial examination of selected artefact assemblages to establish and describe their current contents, followed by tracking and comparison of the reporting of those assemblages over time, beginning with the original reports in the Nineteenth Century. The final task, a chronological correlation, considers the alignment of the first two tasks with the key events of the period, enabling linkages to be observed between the elements that facilitated the formation and promotion of the *Uralic theory*, that is: the respective scholars; their reporting of the 'Magyar' finds; and the social, political and economic environment in which they lived and worked.

As no currently available and affordable software could deliver on this method, and insufficient time and funding precluded creation of a new system, a largely manual method of data compilation and processing was devised, using only *Microsoft Office* applications to create the required maps, with the analysis necessarily conducted solely by manual means.

Profiling

The key aspects of the first two tasks are the creation of profiles of the scholars and the mapping and analysis of the knowledge gained regarding the influences on them. A discussion of profiling, as it has been used in this context, follows now and is succeeded by a discussion of the necessary mapping and analysis in the next section.

The *Macquarie Dictionary* 2011 special edition defines a *profile* variously as:

1. The outline or contour of the human face, especially as seen from the side;
2. A drawing, painting etc of the side view of the head;
3. The outline of something seen against a background;
4. A drawing of a section, especially a vertical section, through something;

5. A vivid and concise sketch of the biography and personality of an individual;
6. An analysis of the traits and characteristics of a person from the facts available, as of a criminal to assist in their capture; or
7. A public identity, as specialising in a particular field or having particular skills, acquired by a business or a group of business organisations, usually as a result of an advertising campaign. (Australian publisher, Kevin Weldon, 2011: 996)

As can be seen from this, the term can be viewed in several ways. For the purpose of this study, the appropriate definition of a *profile* is a combination of definition 5 with a part of definition 6 to arrive at: a vivid and concise sketch, to the degree possible, of the biography and personality of an individual and an analysis of their traits and characteristics from the facts available.

The *Macquarie Dictionary* further defines the verb *profiling* as: "to draw a profile of; to compile a profile of, or to shape as to profile" (Weldon, 2011: 996). Thus, *profiling* is defined simply as the method of creating the profile. As indicated by definition 6 above, the field of profiling is most commonly associated with law enforcement. A recently published text by American clinical psychologist, Richard W. Bloom (2016), while it was written for the criminal profiling field, provides the nearest view of profiling as it was viewed in this context of this study. Bloom discussed five steps of profiling, which he referred to as *prediction* (considering the possibility of an event occurring), *post-diction* (considering an event after it has happened), *peri-diction* (considering an event while it is happening), *understanding*, and *influencing* (that is, using the knowledge gained from the event to achieve a purpose) (Bloom, 2016: 1). Bloom also noted that not all steps are required in every instance and terms such instances as *events*, although in this context I used the term *event* only in its more common, past-temporal sense of something that has happened. Bloom also discussed a particular form of profiling called *psychological profiling* and defined it as "internal to the person [or group] and is not directly observable [but is] inferred, such as thoughts, images, emotions, intentions, desires and motives" (Bloom, 2016: 3). For this study, which looks at the scholars' published thoughts and actions and extrapolates from them their desires and motives, three of Bloom's five steps are especially relevant – *post-diction*, *understanding* and *prediction*. Based on the *post-diction* information of the scholars' biographies, and an *understanding* of their motivations from those biographies, inferences (or *predictions*) can be made about the possible motivations for their views and actions and how those views and actions might have affected other scholars.

Australian forensic psychologists, Michael R. Davis and Detective Senior Sergeant Deb Bennett, have also noted that the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) uses *profiling* of offenders as

one tool in its fact-finding armoury for law enforcement, which it calls collectively *criminal investigative analysis* (CIA) (Davis & Bennett, 2006: InPsych Highlights). They note also that in Australia a similar model is followed for such investigative work (Davis & Bennett, 2006: InPsych Highlights). Lea Winerman, a senior editor writing for the American Psychological Association's journal *APA Monitor on Psychology Staff*, concurred with Davis and Bennett regarding the FBI, but also noted that some psychologists elsewhere prefer to use the terms *investigative psychology* or *crime action profiling* (Lea Winerman, 2004: 66). For instance, according to Winerman, British applied psychologist, David Canter, (of the Centre for Investigative Psychology at the UK University of Liverpool) views the role of *profiling* to be the inference of characteristics of a criminal based on his or her behaviour during the crime, with all inferences to be derived from "empirical, peer-reviewed research" (Winerman, 2004: 66). Canter, in this view, is promoting a science-based approach to the analysis of psychological data which, by its very nature, is neither always reliable nor replicable and therefore is not necessarily scientifically demonstrable. Such a situation applies also to much archaeological research, as excavations of sites often destroy the contexts in which finds are made and a lack of context can greatly inhibit an accurate interpretation of the find *in situ*. Thus, the work of both profilers and archaeologists can be said to be one of drawing reasonable conclusions from careful analysis of the available information, while always being cognisant of the potential for later revision where newer or more reliable data emerges over time.

Mapping and Analysis of the Knowledge

Turning now to the concept of knowledge and its use in the context of this study, it needs to be stated first of all, that the notion of the creation and exploitation of knowledge is not a new one. Indeed, the very concept of *knowledge* is so fundamental to and inherent in everything that is done, that its meaning within the context of any discipline is often not considered. However, in recent decades, the need to understand the concept, and in particular to appreciate more fully how *knowledge* could be used and manipulated to achieve certain desired outcomes, has fostered a nascent discipline titled *Knowledge Management* (KM). American researcher, consultant and founding Executive Director of the Institute for Knowledge Management, Laurence Prusak, noted that the first use of the term *Knowledge Management* was at McKinsey Corporation, USA, around 1990, and that its promotion as a new business strategy began at the first KM conference organised by the accounting firm, Ernst & Young, in Boston, USA in 1992 (Prusak, 1999: 90, 2001: 1003; also Carla O'Dell & C. Jackson Grayson, 1998; Claire McInerney, 2002: 1009—1018).

Developed initially for the business world to improve organisational efficiency through the better use of existing corporate information and knowledge, KM went through three consecutive stages of development which American information and computer scientist Michael E.D. Koenig labelled as: the *Information Technology (IT) stage*, the *HR and Corporate Culture stage*, and the *Taxonomy and Content Management stage* (Koenig, 2012: What is KM?). In the first *IT stage*, Koenig noted that the focus was on developing greater efficiency through harnessing an organisation's intellectual capital via the then new technology of the Internet (Koenig, 2012: What is KM?) and applying the lessons learned from that work, as espoused by American systems scientist Peter M. Senge (1990), to achieve further business improvement. The second *HR and Corporate Culture stage*, according to Koenig (2012: What is KM?), began only a few years later with another American academic, the information technologist Thomas H. Davenport, who noted early on that this second stage centred around urging organisations to consider the knowledge within the minds of their staff as a vital asset to the organisation and to seek ways to harness that knowledge for later reuse (Davenport, 1994: 119—131). However, the seminal text from that period was authored by Japanese organisational therapist Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi from the Harvard Business School of Management. They discussed the principles of increasing business innovation through improved use of the knowledge held in the minds of employees, which is not accessible to the organisation without the willing consent of the employees to share it (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). Nonaka and Takeuchi saw that knowledge as *tacit knowledge* - a term first coined several decades earlier by the Hungarian-British physical chemist and social studies scientist, Michael Polányi, (1958: 179).

In the context of the study, the *tacit knowledge* in question comprises the ideas, attitudes, intentions, motivations and biases held by the scholars, that they could choose to withhold from their writing, but that may be detected through inference from their approaches to the issue at hand – that is, in this study, their support for or opposition to the *Uralic theory*.

As the organisational benefits of KM became more broadly accepted, Koenig's third stage of *Taxonomy and Content Management* was introduced from around 2001 (Koenig, 2012: What is KM?). In that stage, the goal was to formulate methods of knowledge capture so that the *tacit knowledge* within an organisation (knowledge held in the minds of its employees) could be stored, categorised, and accessed by others in the organisation when needed, thereby further increasing its value to the organisation.[12] Around the same time, a technique of interviewing

[12] For examples and further discussion of this, see texts by: Cristina Chaminade, a Swedish economic historian, and Hanno Roberts, a Norwegian professor of accounting, auditing and law (Chaminade & Roberts, 2003: 733-751); a

staff and discovering their communication networks (called *information channels*) was devised and dubbed *social network mapping* (SNM). Adapted from the field of social psychometric analysis,[13] Romanian-American psychiatrist and psychosociologist Jacob L. Moreno first developed the technique in the 1930s as a means of gaining a better understanding of how friendship choices are made (Moreno, 1934, 1937). KM then modified Moreno's technique and used that modified version to map the *information channels* of an organisation's employees to identify those individuals who were considered the *go-to* points for others in the organisation seeking information and thus were the organisation's key information holders and disseminators, that is to say, its *information hubs*.[14] Through identifying those hubs, the organisation could then develop strategies to make better use of its existing information and, where deemed necessary, to redirect the information held by or directed through its hubs to other *information channels* that had an unmet need for it, or to create new channels where required.

Reviewing the many definitions of KM present in the literature of organisations that have attempted to apply its principles and techniques, American sociologists John P. & JoAnn L. Girard concluded that there is no all-encompassing single definition of what constitutes KM, as it means different things to different practitioners and continues to evolve as practitioner needs change (Girard & Girard, 2015: 1—13). To illustrate their point, they compiled a list of 104 definitions for KM that have been used by organisations since the 1990s, with each definition having its own focus according to its particular intended application (Girard & Girard (2015: 2—13). In analysing those definitions, Girard & Girard (2015: 13) noted that the most commonly used words were: knowledge (used 112 times), organisation (69 times), processes (50), information (44), use (40), share (36), create (33) and manage (30). On the basis that a definition incorporating all of those eight words might be the most comprehensive definition of KM, I perused the 104 definitions and found only two containing all eight words. One of these two definitions was used in the field of Development by agricultural economist and KM specialist at the Asian Development Bank, Olivier Serrat (2009), and the other in the field of Management by Ron Young *et al* (2003), a KM consultant and Chief Executive of Knowledge Associates (Girard &

group of KM practitioners led by Jennifer Jerome Anthony (Jerome Anthony *et al*, 2009); and, more recently, by Stephen Denning, an Australian lawyer and management consultant (Denning, 2016)

[13] For a history of its development, see a text by the New Zealander, John Scott, a professor of management systems (Scott, 2012: 13-14).

[14] See Scott (2012: 147-148) regarding the development of 'hubs'; also historian and KM specialist Margaret Grieco, (1987: 30); and Scott together with Martin D. Hughes (Scott & Hughes, 1980) for examples of map variations and their uses. For further discussion of problems with displaying particular kinds of information using the standard mapping process, see the writings of American professor of management, Cathleen McGrath, and her countrymen co-authors, Jim Blythe (a computer scientist) and David Krackhardt (a professor of organisations) (McGrath, Blythe and Krackhardt, 1997).

Girard, 2015: 4, 11). Of these two definitions, the most succinct for the purpose of this study was by Serrat, which stated that:

"Knowledge management is [the] explicit and systematic management of processes enabling vital individual and collective knowledge resources to be identified, created, stored, shared, and used for benefit. Its practical expression is the fusion of information management and organisational learning" (Serrat, 2009).

This definition highlights the multiple roles involved in KM work (identification, creation, storage, sharing, and usage) and the necessary interplay between individuals and organisational systems in order to achieve benefit from the knowledge held by the members of the organisation. That interplay is an integral part of this study, in which I looked closely at the relationships made by and between certain Hungarian scholars of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries and seek to understand the influences those relationships had upon their views. In doing so, I also take onboard some other aspects of KM theory, namely that knowledge gains value when it is shared, and that the sharing is determined by the individuals involved.[15]

I then considered the applicability of KM's *social network mapping* (SNM) technique to the needs of this study. As used within the KM field, the SNM technique provides connections between individuals for an express purpose – that of determining existing *information channel* needs within an organisation and, if required by the organisation, identifying where improvements might be possible. Simply put, the technique looks at the scenario of: One person knows about something and chooses to tell another. That other person then chooses to pass on what information he or she has gained to some selected others, and so on. As an individual can choose whether to pass on information or not, the network that forms from that selective movement of information then shows where the strongest personal connections in an organisation lie for any individual information holder (the individual's *information channels*). The usual process there is to conduct a SNM exercise in which the individuals in an organisation are initially interviewed and their prime information collection and distribution channels are documented, together with an understanding of the strength of each available channel for their information utilisation. The most utilised channels are then mapped to form a picture of the *social network* of the individual. The *social network maps* of all included individuals are then aggregated into a larger, overall map, to illustrate where the most active information channels and their

[15] For a discussion of the benefits and issues associated with sharing knowledge in organisations, see: University academic, Minwir Al-Shammari (2010: 177) regarding a study of KM in Bahrain; management consultant Euan Semple (2011, especially Chapter 4) on his general observations and tips developed over 20 years in this form of work; and social learnig strategist and designer, Tom Spiglanin (2012: "Knowledge has to be shared to have value") on the experiences of corporations in the USA.

intersecting *information hubs* lie within the organisation. Applied in multiple instances across an organisation to construct a comprehensive picture of the organisation's existing *information channels*, this mapping technique would enable the organisation to determine if those channels were adequate for its needs or needed strengthening or altering to maximise efficient information flow or if indeed new channels were required. By improving the efficiency of its information flow, the organisation could increase the value of the knowledge it held and improve its effectiveness in meeting both its clients' needs and stakeholders' expectations.

Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis

Having employed both some aspects of *profiling* and the technique of *social network mapping* in my past professional career, I was interested to see if a combination of these two approaches could be adopted as a suitable technique for historical analysis. As this study is not about improving organisational outcomes or predicting potential future behaviour, some adaptation was seen as necessary to address the historiographic focus of the study. With that focus on the views and attitudes of multiple information holders associating with a range of organisations across past eras and seeing how external influences may have impacted their choices in data interpretation and reporting, the combined technique needed to take into account the environmental *building blocks* that had formed the scholars' characters and views. Such *building blocks* included social, educational, political, economic, employment, spiritual and situational factors, both spatially and temporally. Through a lifetime of interactions with these *building blocks*, the individuals' characters and attitudes were formed and, at some point, the individuals became intimately involved with the development or promotion of the *Uralic theory*, either as vocal or tacit supporters or as declared antagonists. In this context, the uni-dimensional nature of the standard SNM technique was seen as too limited to accommodate the necessary multiple spatial and temporal dimensions required and a more detailed, multi-dimensional mapping process was needed. To reflect the inaugural application of this multi- dimensional technique within the field of archaeology, the technique is given a new name of *Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis* (SSMA), with the diagrammatic representations to be created to be referred to as *social stratigraphic maps* (SSMs).

With no currently available software deemed capable of delivering within the available budget on the level of complexity required, and my own technological skills insufficient to develop such a system during the course of the study, a manual approach was devised that applied the principles required and, although labour intensive, was able to deliver the necessary graphical representations of the many layers involved. Due to the aforementioned cost and

developmental considerations, the choice was made to use existing *Microsoft Office 10 PowerPoint* software to individually create and populate each layer of mapping. For inclusion in this text, the details in those multiple layers were then combined and simplified into the SSMs as shown in later chapters.

Implementing the New Research Method

As outlined earlier, the required research and analysis was implemented by way of three tasks and two fieldtrips to Hungary.

Task 1 – Compiling the Knowledge and Conducting the Biographical Mapping and Analysis

Compiling the Knowledge

In order to identify the biographical, historical and archaeological literature that was needed to conduct the later mapping and analysis work, the first task was a preliminary review of literature available either within Australian libraries and bookshops or that could be sourced from Australia utilising internet services. In carrying out that review, several challenges soon became evident. First, that much literature important to the study could only be sourced in or from Hungary, necessitating travel to Hungary to acquire it. Second, that local assistance in Hungary would be necessary to close some of the knowledge gaps. Third, that due to the complexity of the issues involved, some information might only come to light as the study progressed and therefore would need to be factored in over time. Also, some questions raised during the initial search, when combined, highlighted further gaps in knowledge that had the potential to impact significantly on key elements of the research, particularly the comparison of the reporting on the artefacts and the chronological mapping of changes in that reporting. These also would need to be reviewed as the study progressed.

This review of literature began in early 2010 and continued throughout the entire study, ending only with the preparation of this document. Of necessity, views formed early in the study were continually reviewed and reassessed as more information arose. Overall, almost 700 journal articles and 95 full printed texts of varying quality were sourced, examined and, in many cases, translated into English. These were supplemented with a further 80 'internet only' publications, again of varying quality, with many of these also requiring translation. Questions identified during the review range across several key areas, including: the roles of local institutions prominent in the studied period; the variability of types of influence from key historical figures

and events; and the relationships and interactions between the scholars themselves, and how those impacted on their views.

The translations of Magyar language texts became progressively less onerous and more precise as my initial, basic Magyar language skills improved with each translation. However, translations of texts in other languages (German, French, Ukrainian, Romanian and Croatian) were performed at a basic level only, with varying degrees of competence. Therefore, some translations may have been idiomatically incorrect, and an element of risk in their interpretation is acknowledged. However, some texts in Romanian, Ukrainian and Croatian, proved beyond my skills and therefore, reluctantly, were omitted from the final corpus. Moreover, some material available in languages for which I had no capacity to peruse and translate (Russian, Chinese and some Latin), while possibly relevant to the issue, were not acquired. Thus, I accept and acknowledge also that some differences exist in the quality of included translations and that, therefore, a further risk exists that such differences in my understanding of their contents may have impacted on the results. However, given the nature of the study and the breadth of accessible material for use, the impact of such variable translations is assessed as minimal.

The literature review identified two types of scholars relevant to the issue at hand. The first type were scholars who had openly supported the *Uralic theory*, both in its initial stage and later as it became the dominant view. The second was composed of those scholars who had opposed the theory for various methodological or ideological reasons, including foreign scholars who had conducted research into Magyar origins and arrived at conclusions contrary to the *Uralic theory*. In addition to these opposing groups, a third type was identified later during fieldwork in Hungary. This third type had taken the path of minimising the issue of ethnic determination in their writings, preferring to report on archaeological finds by their form and function and only making occasional comparisons with artefacts found elsewhere. The importance of this third type was in the treatment by those scholars of earlier reporting on the artefacts. While representative members of all three types were included in the discussion of the archaeological reporting, only the biographical data of those from types 1 and 2, who had actively supported or opposed the *Uralic theory* and thus were considered key to the issue of the dominance of the *Uralic theory*, were included in the mapping and analysis work. The body of literature for these three types was found to be substantial, with each group having promoted its own approach.

Creating the Biographies

In all, thirteen scholars were chosen for examination in the study – six each from the disciplines of linguistics and archaeology, and one from antiquities' collection (see Chapter 3). All the

scholars conducted their work in the period from the late Eighteenth Century to the end of the Nineteenth Century. While it is acknowledged that other scholars in that era also had input to and arguably influenced the issue at hand, the selection of these identified scholars was based on their apparent prominence in the creation of the *Uralic theory*, either as early supporters or opponents. Later scholars noted in this study were included only in the context of comparing their reporting of the artefacts with the initial find reports to elicit their comments on ethnic associations with the material culture.

For each chosen scholar, a *post-diction profile* was compiled using the acquired published material, including biographies (self-published and by others), material referring to the scholars' work, and any publications indicating their views on Magyar ethnogenesis. The focus of these documents was to ascertain the key turning points and contacts in each scholar's life and the nature and strength of that occurrence or contact. With the necessary reliance on published material, supported by anecdotal information gained from informal discussions with current in-country experts, it is fair to assume that some of the information presented may be disputed as conjecture or hearsay only. Given this qualification regarding the reliability of some information, it was necessary to evaluate the *reasonableness* of the data. Using the same criterion of *reasonableness* as normally applied in legal proceedings, each piece of information was subjected to the question: Would this be considered plausible by a reasonable person? Where conflicting information was received from multiple sources, the same question was applied and the source appearing the most reasonable was included, with, as appropriate, an accompanying comment that the information was inconclusive or debated.

Taking assumptions derived from the biographical profiles into account, the next step was to create the individual *social stratigraphic maps* (SSM.3.1—13, see Chapter 3). Each map included information on the education, employment, other interests, and activities of a scholar, together with important personal and professional relationships, as indicated in the literature, that reasonably could be expected to have impacted on the character or personal views of that scholar and be reflected in his writing.

The level of influence from each relationship or *information hub* was then subjectively assessed on the basis of *reasonableness* for each scholar, using a weighting method of from 1 to 4 points attached to each interaction. For an interaction where no evidence of influence on the scholar or his reporting was notable from the historical or biographical data, a weighting of 1 was applied. An example of this might a temporary relationship with a person, such as a spouse, former employer or friend, for which there was no evidence of any discernible impact on the

scholar's views on Magyar ethnogenesis or the *Uralic theory*. Such an interaction was considered to be the weakest and was indicated in the scholar's SSM map with a broken blue line. At the other end of the scale, a weighting of 4 was allocated to an association where the literature clearly indicated a strong level of influence. One example of an influence warranting a weighting of 4 might be a scholar having changed a conclusion in his report at the request of another individual or institution or expressed a reflection on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis that differed markedly from his previously expressed view, with the change in that expressed able to be dated to after his association with a new individual or institution. Such an interaction was indicated on the scholar's map with a solid red line. Between these two extremes were weightings of 2 (represented by a solid blue line) and 3 (indicated by a broken red line). A weighting of 3 indicated a suggestion of a strong association, such as with a mentor, close friend, relative or employer, but where the evidence for any effect on the scholar's views or work could only be inferred. Whereas, a weighting of 2 denoted a close association with a person or institution, but without any indication of the views of that person or institution impacting on the scholar's views on Magyar ethnogenesis or the *Uralic theory*. An example might be the scholar's membership of a society that was interested in Hungarian history but did not advocate a particular position on Magyar ethnogenesis. As the data used in this study were qualitative only, with no quantitative aspect, the length of each red or blue line was not relevant.

Task 2 – Examining the Artefacts and Comparing their Reporting

Out of the preliminary literature review, six assemblages were selected to form the *data pool* for the artefact reporting (see Chapter 5), with each chosen for both its published role in establishing or promoting the identity markers for the ancient Magyars and the evidence that the reporting might provide into the thinking of the early scholars on Magyar ethnogenesis. Five assemblages came from identified, though not necessarily confirmed, burial sites - Benepuszta, Vereb, Bezdéd, Galgocz (now known as Hlohovec, Slovakia) and Szolyva (now known as Svaljava, Ukraine). The other assemblage was identified in its initial report as being from somewhere near the town of Anarcs, though the assemblage was already in a private collection when first reported, and its actual find-spot remains uncertain.

The sites associated with four of the assemblages (Benepuszta, Vereb, Anarcs and Bezdéd) lie within the current borders of Hungary; while those of Galgocz and Szolyva are situated outside its borders in what is termed today as 'Greater Hungary', but was the Nineteenth-century Magyar Kingdom. None of the sites lie on the purported *migratory pathway* from the Uralian steppes region to the Carpathian Basin, although two are near where the ancient Magyars

purportedly entered the Carpathian Basin c.896AD. As noted earlier, finds along the claimed *migratory pathway* only began to be made at the end of the Nineteenth Century[16] and these were only taken seriously within Hungary after the proponents of the *Uralic theory* had claimed victory for their view in 1920. Therefore, these finds did not contribute to the original creation and early promotion of the *Uralic theory*, but rather were in response to it.

Artefact Examination at the Hungarian National Museum

Initially, a personal examination was undertaken of the artefacts from the six assemblages as they currently exist at the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. This examination served two purposes. The first was to establish the *baseline of identity markers* agreed by the early archaeologists as representative of the ancient Magyars. The second was to confirm the characteristics of the artefacts used to create those *identity markers* against the early reporting of them. Conducting the examination also aided in identifying where anomalies or alterations existed between the artefacts themselves and either their initial reporting or later reinterpretations, so that these differences could be correlated chronologically in task 3 with the social, political and economic environments in which they occurred.

Comparative Review of Artefact Reporting

To conduct the comparative review of the reporting, a *Microsoft Office 10 Excel* spreadsheet was populated chronologically with the translated descriptions of the artefacts. Following the *type classification* approach generally used in the reports, care was taken to focus on the descriptions of form and function, with any comment of ethnic association recorded and highlighted. To avoid contaminating the data, I made no ethnic attribution or inference during my examination. The artefact descriptions and ethnic associations made by the reporting scholars over time were then compared to determine where, if any, differences in interpretation existed. Such differences were tabulated for further analysis. The purpose of this comparative review was to establish the chronology of changes in the artefact descriptions, in preparation for the final correlative analysis. The descriptions of the assemblages and their reporting are presented in Chapter 5. Results of the correlative analysis, together with discussion of the implications of identified reporting changes, are provided in Chapter 6.

[16] See page 4 of this chapter, regarding the Zichy expeditions to the Caucasus region.

Task 3 - Chronological Correlation of the Combined Data Pool

Chronological correlation of the *data pool* formed the third task, the purpose of which was to identify temporal correlations between the scholars, their institutions, and the key events, from which further inferences could be made regarding the timing of their reports and any potential manipulation of, or impact from, that timing, to achieve other agenda.

Conducted in two parts, the first required the creation of two additional sets of *social stratigraphic maps*. Set A combines the salient aspects from each scholar's map with the relevant key institutions and maps these together. Using the same weighting procedure as with the scholars' maps, these institutional *influence hub* maps depict the interconnections and overall level of direct and indirect contact of each institution with the cohort of scholars. The institution with the greatest level of contact was considered to have had the greatest potential for influence on the scholars and their work. Set B combines the salient information from the individual scholars' maps with the three identified major events from task 1.2. Scholars not participating in an event were grouped together and indicated as such. Chronologically relevant activities of the remaining participating scholars are individually indicated in relation to the events and weighted to indicate the strength of each relationship.

With this information in hand, the next step was to the consider the outcomes from these two mapping sets in concert with the reporting changes earlier identified, and to further identify any correlations between the reporting changes and the identified key *influence time-points* (that is, the times when the influences did or could have occurred). Where strong correlations were found, assessments could be made about the probability of an external event influencing contemporary artefact reporting. As with the varying strengths expected for the mapped relationships, the strength of influence on the respective archaeological reports and their data interpretations also might vary.

The Fieldwork

Two fieldtrips to Hungary (August 2010, May–June 2011) provided the bulk of the corpus of information - literature, artefact examination and in-country discussions with experts.

The first fieldtrip was undertaken: to become acquainted with the protocols for accessing the archival material; to acquire literature only available domestically within Hungary, and; to form the necessary contacts with the National Museum and other relevant institutions in preparation for the second fieldtrip. An introductory meeting was held with Dr. László Révész, Director of the Archaeology Department at the Hungarian National Museum, to apprise him of the study,

establish the protocols for archaeological research at the Museum, and gain his permission to examine the artefacts during the second fieldtrip. Approaches were also made to several libraries for access to their material, with mixed success. Some libraries welcomed the opportunity to assist, while others were less enthusiastic. Among the former were the libraries of the Budapest History Museum and the Aquincum Museum – the staff of both being exceptionally helpful at all times. The National Széchenyi Library, which is the national repository for many of the original manuscripts, provided some limited access when requested. However, due to complicated and highly restrictive access protocols, coupled with prohibitively expensive copying costs for material that could be accessed, material from there was sourced only when no other avenue was available. To supplement the archival research, secondary-source material was purchased through antiquarian bookshops in Budapest, while some unavailable editions were gifted to me by local scholars and other interested parties. During that first fieldtrip, a visit was also made to Hungarian archaeologist, Dr. Béla Kürti, at Szeged Museum in the south of Hungary, to discuss his understanding of the evidence used by the early scholars to establish the identity markers for the ancient Magyars. Results of that discussion were incorporated into the study as appropriate.

The second fieldtrip was initially scheduled to consume a three-months period (May—August 2011), but a major family medical emergency forced me to conclude the fieldwork prematurely in early June 2011. The loss of six weeks from the scheduled three months, meant the work had to be re-prioritised, to enable the most critical aspects to be conducted before my forced return to Australia. This meant the abandonment of several planned consultations with in-country experts and archival research at the Ethnographic Museum and prevented any re-examination of some of the artefacts when later questions arose. An invitation from Dr Révész to attend his lectures on Magyar archaeology at Szeged University also could not be taken up. The work that could be accomplished in the truncated period included: discussions with only three of the intended experts; the initial examination of the artefact assemblages at the National Museum; and some additional archival research at various University and Museum libraries in Budapest to supplement source material gained during the first fieldtrip. That work was preceded by my scheduled attendance at the annual week-long *International Finno-Ugric Students Conference* held that year at the Eötvös Lórand University in Budapest. At the conference I presented on the status and needs of the study, acquired further literature not available by other means, and gained additional insights into the current views in Hungary on the ethnogenesis issue. The conference also afforded the development of some useful new contacts, one of which resulted

in a meeting with Hungarian archaeologist, Dr László Klima, with whom I briefly discussed a possible Scythian ethnogenesis for the Magyars.

The examination of the artefact assemblages at the Hungarian National Museum immediately followed the conference and occupied seven full days over a two-week period, with the intervening days engaged with data checking, enhancement of artefact drawings, labelling of photographs, and preparing for the next day's input. The remainder of the second fieldtrip took in further archival research in the libraries of the National Museum, the Eötvös Lórand University Archaeological Institute, the National Széchenyi Library, and, especially, the Budapest History Museum, where much of the documentation was able to be scanned electronically.

Two further meetings were also held with Dr Révész at the National Museum, with the aim of seeking answers regarding: the work of the early scholars; the early storage facilities for the artefacts; and the nature of interpretation in Hungarian scholarship today on the Conquest-era Magyars. To my great delight, Dr Révész unexpectedly provided me with computer-scanned copies of the original notes and drawings made in 1896 of the Bezdéd excavations (see Chapter 5 for an example). He advised that these notes and drawings were the only ones known to exist from any of the six sites in the study and were found by chance only ten years earlier in the stores of the National Széchenyi Library. Dr Révész also advised that in 2004 he and another archaeologist, Peter Prohászka, had reported on the drawings and notes from that excavation (Révész & Prohászka, 2004). That report was later acquired and has made a significant contribution to Chapter 5.

Due to the informality required, as noted earlier, recordings and transcripts were not made of the meetings with the experts (Béla Kürti, László Klima, and László Révész[17]). Key points, however, were noted and incorporated in this text where relevant. Several *ad hoc* conversations also occurred during the fieldwork that added further insights to local thinking on the issues. Among the insights gained from the meetings and other encounters were the reasons for the sensitivity surrounding the issue of ethnic identification of archaeological assemblages (Kürti, 2010: personal communication; Valéria Kovács, 2011: personal communication; János Pusztay, 2011: personal communication)[18], which revolved around matters of ethnic assimilation and integration. Consequently, out of respect for the sensitivity of the issue, I declare that, except

[17] Professor Béla Kürti was met at the University of Szeged in 2010. Professor László Klima was met at the Eötvös Lórand University in 2011, and Dr. László Révész was met with three times in total – once in 2010 to gain permission for the artefact examination and twice in 2011 to discuss issues regarding the artefacts that had arisen during the fieldwork.

[18] Valéria Kovács is the Director of Library Services at the Budapest History Museum. János Pusztay is the Storage Master at the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.

where otherwise indicated, the words appearing in this text are my interpretations of the discussions and conversations that were had, and not verbatim quotes from any of the participants.

Subsequently, further circumstances allied to the medical need for my early return to Australia and inadequate funding available for further travel to Hungary, combined to negate the opportunity for a resumption of the fieldwork at a later time. Logistical difficulties contacting some experts remotely from Australia and the sensitivities involved in other cases of *a stranger* attempting to discuss the issues from afar, without the accustomed personal introductions, also precluded the conduct of those discussions by other means of communication, such as by telephone or internet. Thus, I further acknowledge that some information pertinent to the study may be absent from the analysis, posing a risk for the conclusions derived.

The final work of the study – translating the additional texts, analysing the data, preparing the SSM maps and other graphics, and reporting the findings of the research - began upon my return to Australia in June 2011 and concluded in early 2017, following several further unavoidable personal interruptions.

Organisation of the Dissertation

Having presented here the hypothesis for the study, the review of literature and the research method, I first place the issues to be discussed in later chapters into their geographic and historical context. To this end, Chapter 2 contains geographic, demographic, and historical information on Hungary to provide a context for the study. Taking a thematic approach, it introduces the key political, social and economic events and characters in Hungary's history from the first arrival there of the Magyars in the Ninth Century to the beginning of the Twentieth Century, that contributed to the development of the environment in which the scholars lived and worked. Chapter 3 then presents the biographical 'profiles' of the early scholars (linguists, archaeologists and an antiquarian) who had major roles in the creation or early promotion of the *Uralic theory*. In Chapter 4, the scholars are connected to the key institutions and events highlighted in Chapter 3, and these institutions and events are further analysed for their contribution to the environment in which the scholars lived and worked. Chapter 5 then presents the six chosen artefact assemblages and their reporting, and tracks that reporting over time to the present, focussing throughout on any ethnicity-related comments made by the respective writers. The findings and conclusions of the study are presented in Chapter 6. Applying the results from Chapters 3—5, this chapter aligns the scholars, institutions and events with observable changes in the artefact reporting and discusses the outcomes of this alignment

in the context of the effect of external influences on information creation and dissemination regarding Magyar ethnogenesis. It then more broadly considers the capacity of archaeology as a discipline to assist in determining the ethnic and/or locational origins of an ancient people. The dissertation concludes with a critical evaluation of the SSMA research method, and a suggested framework and program of research tasks for future investigation in Magyar ethnogenetic studies.

Chapter 2

Geographic and Historic Context

Before proceeding to an examination of the scholars, their institutional and personal associations, and the archaeological reports that some wrote, it is helpful to a better understanding of the nature of the Magyar Kingdom and its people, to outline the geographic and historic context in which the Kingdom was created and evolved over time. That context, as presented here, comprises a complex mix of: territorial uncertainty, historic and spatial; demographic data inadequacies; historical documentary opacity; long-term political variability; and language constancy over a millennium, interrupted more recently by a policy of imposed 'renewal'.

Territorial Uncertainty, Historic and Spatial

Terrain of the Magyar Kingdom

Surrounded by mountain ranges on all four sides - the Carpathian Mountains to the North and East, the Transylvanian Alps and Dinaric Ranges to the South, and the eastern end of the Italian Alps on the West (see Fig.2.1 below), the Carpathian Basin forms the territory of what was the Magyar Kingdom prior to 1920. Then, the Kingdom also had a small section of land in the South-West that reached to the Mediterranean Sea, giving it a seaport and total area of 202,560 square kilometres, excluding Croatia which was also under its control.

The terrain of the Basin is largely flat and dissected by many rivers and lakes, which water the country's many towns, villages and farms, and since ancient times have provided lush pastureland for livestock and abundant fertile land for crop growing. The two largest rivers are the Danube and the Thiess (known locally as the Tisza), which effectively divide the country as it is today, into four parts – Transdanubia in the West; the Great Hungarian Plain in the Centre; Transcarpathia in the North-East; and a small remaining part of Transylvania[19] in the East.

Situated in central Europe along the major trade route between East and West, the Basin has always seen a profusion of groups living in or traversing its territory from Palaeolithic times onwards, with habitation densities varying according to the local climatic and political conditions

[19] In Hungary, Transylvania is known as Erdély (Author).

at the time.[20] The arrival of the Magyars at the end of the Ninth Century into this desirable location not only added to that ethnic mix, but dramatically altered it as the Magyars progressively took over the Basin and absorbed its existing inhabitants (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 18; Fodor, 1996e: 15-18).

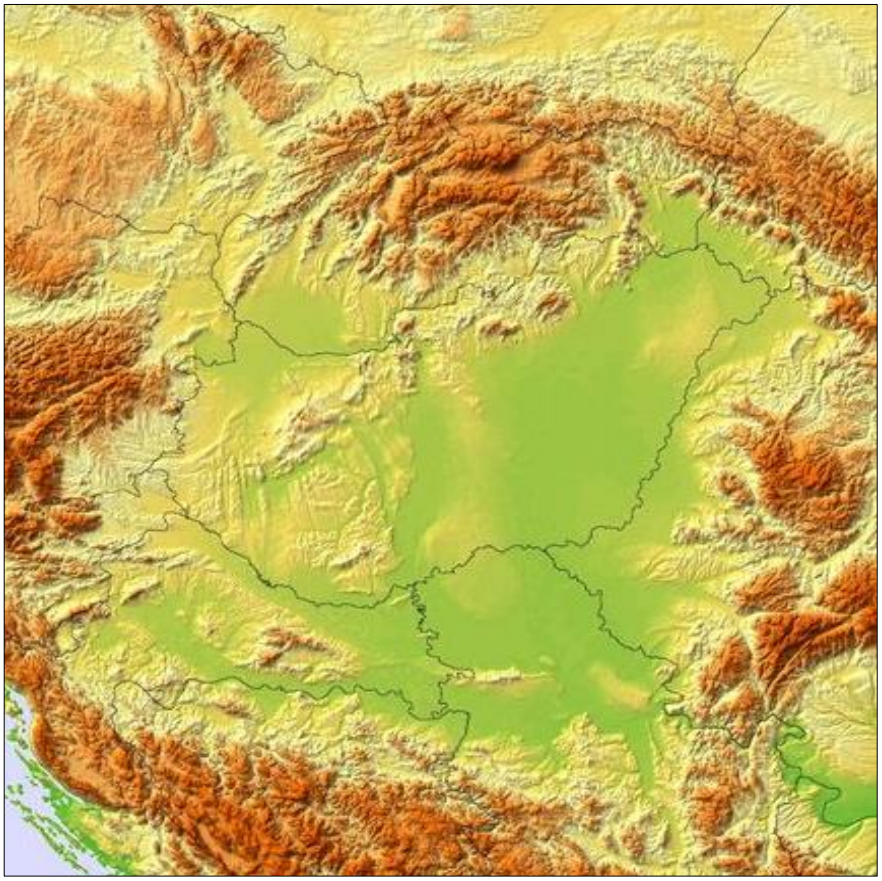


Fig.2.1 Carpathian Basin surrounded by the mountain ranges. The borders of Hungary today are indicated by the central outline. The rivers and lakes are not shown. [Map "Topographic Hillshade Map of the Pannonian" -SCI Lands]

In his second volume, the Twelfth-century court scribe, Simon Kézai (a.k.a Simon de Keza), traced the dispersal around the Carpathian Basin of the first groups of Magyar settlers that arrived at

[20] The 2003 volume *Hungarian Archaeology at the Turn of the Millennium* provides an excellent chronologically-organised summary of the various stages of habitation from the Palaeolithic through to the post-medieval period. Useful examples from each section of that text, include: Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic - Katalin T. Biró (2003a: 77-78, 2003b: 99, 2003c: 101, 2003d: 102-103), Ferenc Horváth (2003a: 100-101, 2003b: 106-107); Copper Age - László András Horváth & Zsuzsanna M. Virag (2003: 125-127), Virag & Mária Bondár (2003: 127-129); Bronze Age - Ildikó Poroszlai *et al* (2003: 141), Poroszlai (2003: 142-143), Judit Tárnoki (2003: 145-148); Roman Period- Jenő Fitz (2003: 205-208), Endre Tóth (2003: 218-221); Dénes Gabler (203: 241-243); Andrea Vaday (2003a: 267-270, 2003b: 275-278); Migration Period – Tivadar Vida (2003a: 283-284, 2003b: 302-307), Agnes B. Tóth (2003a: 284-285, 2003b: 285-286, 2003c: 293-294, 2003d: 294-298); Vaday (2003c: 287-288); Róbert Müller (2003a: 286-287, 2003b: 289-291, 2003c: 291-293, 2003d: 298-301), Béla Miklós Szőke (2003a: 308-312, 2003b: 312-316); Conquest Period – Mária Wolf (2003: 326-331); Middle Ages – Gergely Buzás *et al* (2003: 348-363), József Laszlovszky *et al* (2003: 364-365, 367-372)

the end of the Ninth Century. Writing in Latin[21], Kézai recorded that:`5.§. Árpád immediately found a place to erect his tent, where today the city of Fejérvár is established [and] 6. §. the people named Szabolcs made camp there, where today the castle of Csak lies in ruins" (Kézai, c.1282—1285: *6. §.*). Taking the various sources into account, the Magyar-speaking British historian, Carlile Aylmer Macartney (1969: 5, 1999:55—56), summarised the settlement pattern

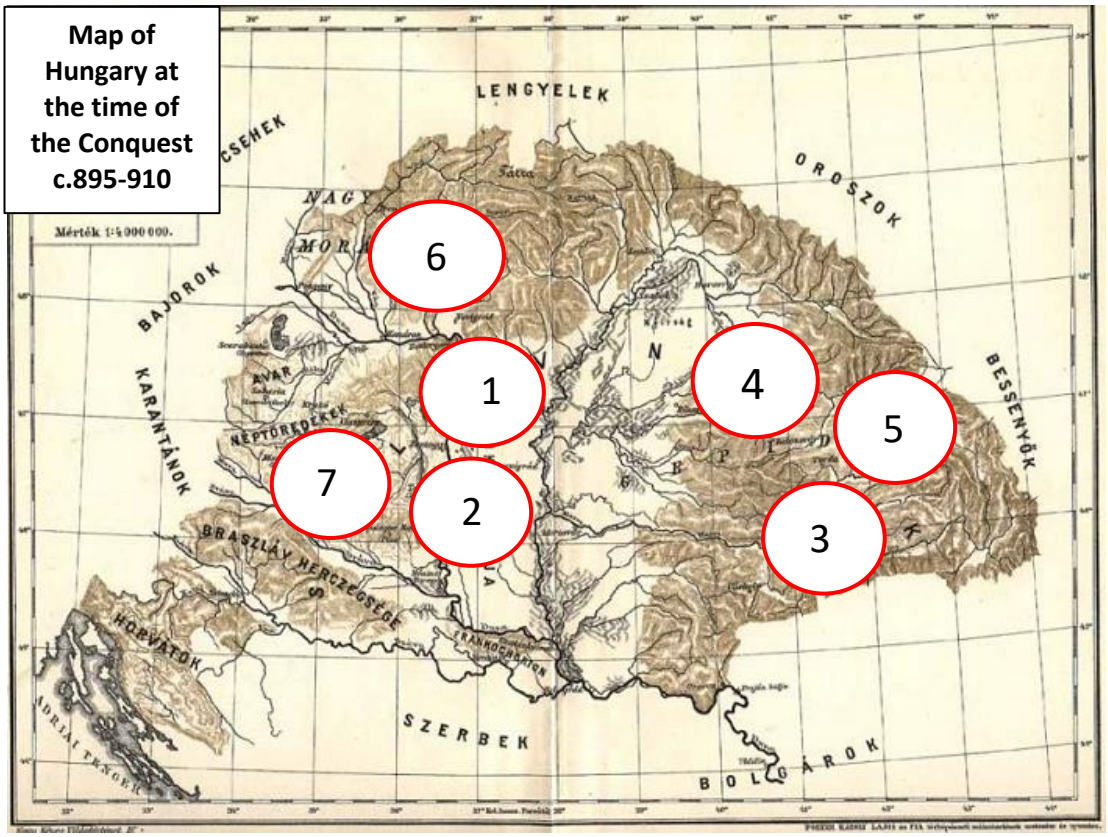


Fig.2.2 Approximate settlement locations for the Magyar tribes c. 895-910 as per Macartney (1969: 5, 1999:55—56). Map: Dr Sámu Borovszky (1860-1912), modified: Author, April 2017

of those first Magyars. Fig. 2.2 below shows approximate locations for the ancient Magyars within the Basin, based on Macartney's analysis.

Local toponyms and ethnonyms also suggest the movements of the various groups around the Basin – indicating possible places where they kept livestock, had strongholds, fought battles and conducted trade[22] (János Melich, 1925; Elemer Moór, 1936; István Kniesza 1938: 365-472, 1943: 111—113, 191—200, 1944: 196; Manó Kertész 1939: 33—39, 67—77; László Makkai, 1947;

[21] Kézai wrote in Latin. A Magyar translation of his text by Pais, published on the Internet by István Fogarasi (no date) was used in this study and the English text here is this author's translation of Pais' text. Any errors in translation are the responsibility of this author.

[22] For example, the Baranya County towns Gyula and Kassa (named after two of the seven ancient tribes) are in close proximity to each other in the region where the Kézai chronicle (c.1282—1285) states that the tribe of Gyula first camped before moving to what is today Transylvania, and the Keszi tribe permanently settled. Both towns are also near to the town of Kovácsi [in English, Blacksmith's], with Gyula north-west of it and Kassa to its south-west, suggesting the need for those ancient tribes to be near to a vital service for the maintenance of their horses.

György Györffy, 1958: 12—97; Mező & Németh, 1972; Gyula Kristó, 1976b: 58—65; Kiss, 1997: 180; Rácz, 2013: 255—266). Various authors studied place names of the Conquest era and later period (e.g. Kniesza, 1938: 365—472; Rácz, 2013: 255—266). Kniesza (1938: 365—472) looked specifically at the Basin and concentrated on defining the territorial settlement of the Conquest-era Magyars. While Rácz concluded: "there are so-called 'era-defining' settlement names…which…does not mean that the presence of that name type was exclusively indicative of that age, but rather that its appearance is strikingly characteristic" (Rácz, 2013: 256). The collective works of these scholars indicate the earliest settlement names most probably were personal names and therefore may indicate actual settlement distribution, however, later names are less well defined. Where such names have changed over time, the task of identifying specific delineations for the first settlements is more problematic (Hungarian historian, Kórnel Bakay, 1999: 541), complicating the task of accurately identifying ancient Magyar burials in those localities.

Changing Borders of the Magyar Kingdom

Between 1000 and 1200CE, the Magyar Kingdom grew in territory and population to cover what is today Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania (now part of Romania), Carpatho-Ruthenia (now part of Ukraine), Vojvodina (now part of Serbia), Burgenland (now part of Austria), and the port of Fiume (now part of Italy) (Chisholm, 1911: 894; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 33, 37; Róna-Tas, 1999: 338, 339). Several annexations extended Magyar influence beyond its borders, adding the Slavic territories of today's northern Croatia, annexed in 1091 during the reign of King László I (r.1077—1095) (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 33, 37); and Dalmatia (today part of Croatia), which was incorporated in 1105 by King Kálmán 'the Bookish' (r. 1095—1116) (Róna-Tas, 1999: 338, 339).[23] Over subsequent centuries, the borders changed frequently, with various rulers acquiring or losing territory in their struggles to gain or hold onto their power. Of note, was the period 1301-1700, when the Magyar Kingdom was only one of first two, and then three, separately ruled territories in the Basin - with many conflicts and political manoeuvrings causing frequent border realignments. One territory, known as the Royal Kingdom, was ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs and forms the basis for the claim by Hungarians today to 1000 years of a continuous Magyar Kingdom (Miklós Molnár, 2001: 104-105; István Kenesei, 2009: 63). The second was most often controlled by the army of the Ottoman Empire, although their hold on the land was constantly threatened by the Habsburgs (Molnár, 2001: 104-105). The third was held by

[23] Kálmán 'the Bookish' was purportedly described by Pope Urban II as: "well-versed in the discipline of holy canon law" (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 39, 44), indicating Coloman's devoutness to the Church's teachings.

Transylvanian princes, who remained overtly aloof from the conflicts between the other two territories for most of that period (Molnár, 2001: 112-113), while covertly some deals were made between János Szápolyi and the Ottoman leaders to secure territory from the Habsburgs (Molnár, 2001: 104-105; Gábor Nagy, 2008: 277).

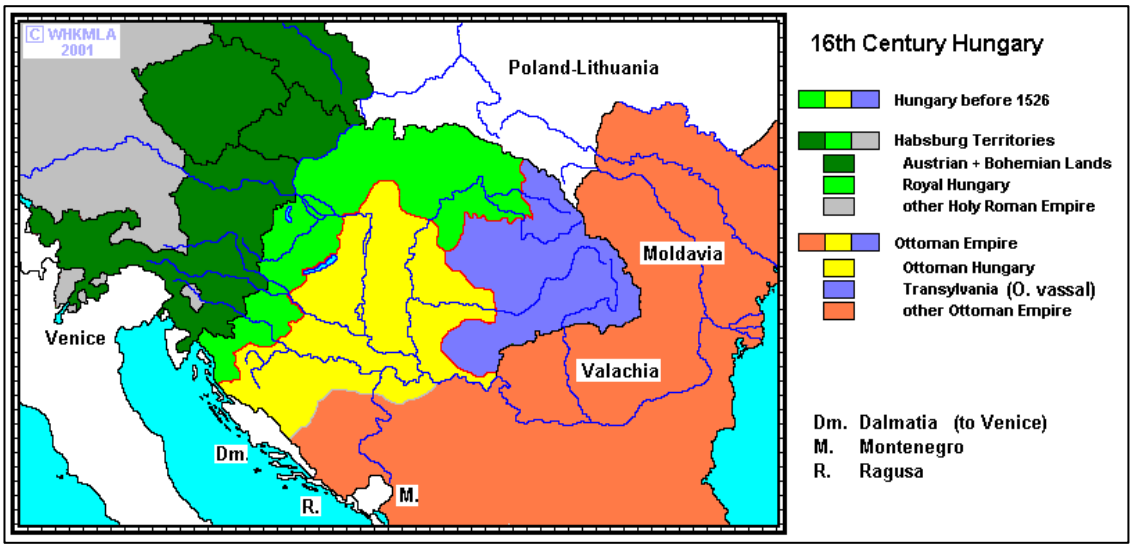


Fig.2.3 Territories of the Royal Kingdom, Transylvanian princes and Ottoman Empire before and after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. (Map from World History by Korean Minjok Leadership Academy, 2001)

Fig.2.3 above approximates the borders of the three territories (in green, yellow and purple) before and after the 1526 Battle of Mohács.

However, by 1700, the Habsburgs had overcome their opponents, usurping their lands and incorporating those territories into a growing Habsburg Empire, which they then held largely intact until 1918 (Molnár, 2001: 131-133, especially 132 Map. 7).

Then, in the aftermath of the defeat of Austria-Hungary and its allies in World War I, the Kingdom's size was radically reduced by the Treaty of Trianon,[24] which severed almost two-thirds of its territory and distributed that land between neighbouring countries, some already existing and some being newly-formed with the Treaty's support (Bertie Cotterell Wallis, 1921) (see Fig. 2.4 below).

[24] The Treaty of Trianon, so-called by Hungarians because it was signed in the Trianon Palace, is known elsewhere as the Treaty of Versailles.

Fig.2.4 Borders changes (before the Treaty of Trianon signed on 4th June 1920), and the smaller borders of Hungary in 2004 and beyond.
The numbers are population estimates for ethnic Magyars acquired by each surrounding country resulting from the Trianon Treaty (totalling 2.84 million). (Map and population figures: American Hungarian Federation, Alexandria Virginia USA)

The existing Romania received 32 percent of the severed land, greatly expanding its territory (Wallis, 1921: 426 Table 1). Italy received the port of Fiume, removing the only direct access for the Kingdom to the sea, and its former imperial ruler, Austria,[25] acquired one percent of the Kingdom's severed land (Wallis, 1921: 426 Table 1).

At its southern end, 20 percent of the land was occupied primarily by Slovenes, Serbs and Croats, who had broken away from Hungary the previous year (Molnár, 2001: 243, 250, 252). With the Trianon Treaty, their separation received formal recognition as the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed in 1929 to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) (Tomasz Kamusella, 2009: 228, 297). While in the North, another new country called Czechoslovakia was formed from the 19 percent of land largely populated by Czechs and Slovaks (Wallis, 1921: 426 Table 1; Molnár, 2001: 246, 250, 252, 262).[26]

Various further border adjustments have occurred since 1920, although the current borders of the country are largely the same as they were immediately after 'Trianon'. Consequently, today's Republic of Hungary covers an area of only 93,036 square kilometres (Molnár, 2001: 262).

[25] Austria was punished for its role in the War by the Saint-Germain-en-Laye Treaty signed on 19th September 1919 (Molnár, 2001: 262).
[26] Both new countries have since split further, with Czechoslovakia dividing into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993 (Paal Sigurd Hilde, 1999: 647-665) and Yugoslavia breaking into Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Kosovo, over a period (Kamusella, 2009:228, 297).

Demographic Data Inadequacies

British historian, Norman Cantor, noted that the population in Western Europe c.1000CE was estimated at 10 million (Cantor, 1991: 21). However, no estimate is available for the population of Central Europe in the same period, with official Census data for the Magyar Kingdom not collected before the Eighteenth Century. Consequently, scholars have agreed that population numbers for the Kingdom's earliest years are largely speculative (e.g. J. Dennis Willigan & Katherine A. Lynch, 1982: 86—87; József Kovacsics, 1995; Györffy, 1995: 37—41; Kristó, 1995). Some recent scholars nevertheless have attempted to estimate the size, ethnic breakdown and causes for change of the population at various times in the Kingdom's history up to 1705 (see Table 2.1).

With those population estimates varying considerably for the initial settlement of the Magyars, as the Kingdom grew over time better estimates could be made (see Table 2.1 below), although scholars apparently still differed. For example, for the period of the Ottoman occupation (1526—1699), Molnár noted that "most historians talk of catastrophic depopulation…net *[sic]* loss of 1 million inhabitants [while some saw population growth as having] a zero balance" (Molnár, 2001: 95), with the loss of life compensated by immigration. According to Endrey, for the same period, population numbers in the Kingdom and Transylvania (with fighting continuing in the latter) had dramatically reduced, leaving the remnant populations in dire conditions (Endrey, 1982: 260).

Table 2. 1 - Population Estimates for the Magyar Kingdom before the Study Period

Period/ Census Year	Significant Event	Population estimate	Sources
10th Century	Initial settlement	60,000—>500,000	William Toth (1942: 35); Anthony Endrey (1982: 42); István Lázár (1989: no page number); Molnár (2001: 16)
Start 13th Century	Golden Bull issued 1222	1 million	Kristó (1963: 44 fn80)
End 13th Century		1.5—2.3 million	Györffy (1963: 45—62)
14th Century		3 million	György Enyedi (1976: 23); Molnár (2001: 42, 47)
c.1450		4 million	Endrey (1982: 188)
1526—1686	Ottoman Turks occupation (1526—1699)	3.5—4 million	Molnár (2001: 95) notes two differing views on population numbers
1657—1705	New immigration to depopulated areas as Habsburgs progressively ousted Ottoman Turks	2.5—3 million or 3.5—4 million	

The continual conflicts could be expected to have had a significant impact on crop production and animal rearing, greatly constraining the amount of food available to the populace and resulting in large numbers dying from starvation. Endrey further noted that Turkish slave-trading and rampant diseases, such as tuberculosis (known locally as 'morbus Hungaricus'), also took a heavy toll (Endrey, 1982: 260). However, with figures for that period uncertain, the only reasonable assumption would be that the Ottoman occupation created major disruption and hardship to the inhabitants' lives during the many conflicts between the Turks and their new neighbours.

A reduction in population of some magnitude, however, was supported by the first official records in 1710, which showed the overall population at that time at around three million (see Table 2.1 above). Molnár attributed that figure to "war, epidemics, the plague, and possibly a 'mini ice age' in the Sixteenth Century" (Molnár, 2001: 96). More recently, however, in addition to scholars' estimates, official records and census data have provided greater accuracy in population numbers in the Eighteenth-Nineteenth centuries (see Table 2.2 below).

Table 2. 2 - Census Data and Other Population Estimates for Magyar Kingdom 1780-1920

Period/ Census Year	Possible Causes for change	Population	Sources
1780	Habsburgs settled ethnic Germans *en masse* into North region 1711—1780	8—9 million	Spira (1977:2), Halász (1978:20, 22), and Sugar, Hanák & Frank (1994)
1846	Natural increase bolstered by new German settlers	12,033,399	1846 Official Records
1850	Reduction attributed to 1848—49 Revolution and post-conflict retaliatory repression by Emperor	11,533,399	1850 Official Census
1857	Possible 'baby boom' as political climate settled	13.8 million	1857 Census Office estimate
1870	Reduction maybe result of improving data compilation	13.5 million	1880 Census Office estimate (First Census after 1867 Compromise)
1880	Greatly improved data acquisition and counting techniques employed	13,749,600	1880 Official Census by Hungarian Statistical Office (HSO) (First Census by the HSO)
1910	Natural increase, (+) 1908 annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, (-) emigration of 1.5 million to USA	18,246,000	1910 Official Census by HSO (Molnár, 2001: xv; Macartney, 1937: 2)
1914	Possible 'baby boom' prior to the war, then a drop due to war casualties	21.5 million	1914 Census Office estimate (at start of World War I)
1920	Reflects population after Treaty of Trianon effected	7,980,143*	1920 Census (immediately post-Trianon Treaty); Macartney (1937: 447, Table 1)

Those figures showed a dramatic population increase by 1780, achieved through a Habsburg policy of repopulating the decimated areas by moving ethnic Germans into the Kingdom's North, with 800 new villages established between 1711 and 1780 (Thomas Spira, 1977: 2; Zoltán Halász, 1978: 20—22; Endrey, 1982: 261; Péter F. Sugar, Péter Hanák & Tibor Frank, 1994). The later population fall of an estimated 500,000 between 1846 and 1850 (1850 Census) has been attributed to the 1848—49 Revolution against Habsburg rule and its repressive aftermath. With the fighting ended and repression progressively eased, the population quickly rebounded, climbing by more than 16.4 percent by the next Census.[27]

Since 1857, a Census has been undertaken at approximately 10-yearly intervals with the Hungarian Statistical Office (HSO) having sole responsibility for the task since 1880. Those figures showed a drop of around 300,000 after 1857, that may have resulted from improved counting methods, and then population numbers increasing again by 1880 (Table 2.1). By the 1910 Census, the population, excluding Croatia-Slavonia, had increased by 30.18 percent (Macartney, 1937: 2), largely in urban areas. Part of that growth could be attributed to the Kingdom's 1908 annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which added two million inhabitants to the Kingdom's numbers, although between 1880 and 1910 1.5 million Hungarian citizens apparently had migrated to the United States of America, making a nett increase for that 30-years period of only 500,000 (Molnár, 2001: xv). Over the next four years, the HSO estimated a rapid population expansion, adding another 3.5 million. In all the severed lands, some ethnic Magyars also resided and around 400,000 were then repatriated to Hungary, boosting its population to almost eight million immediately after the Treaty of Trianon was implemented (Molnár, 2001: 262).

Ethnicities in the Magyar Kingdom

Ethnicity in the Kingdom has never been a straightforward issue, as the policies of several Magyar kings and later Austrian imperial rulers, included mass immigrations of non-Magyar ethnicities – each arrival adding to the existing complexity. As noted earlier, Censuses were not taken for much of the Kingdom's history, while later, when collections of such data were made, questions of ethnicity were often not their focus. So precise population numbers for the various ethnic groups at different times were not possible. Despite the lack of official data, some scholars have made reasonable attempts at estimating the ethnic breakdown of the Kingdom at

[27] Dányi (1993: 8) notes that possibly 5-6 percent of the population were omitted from the records used in the 1850 Census to estimate the post-Revolution figures. While Őri and Pakot (2011: 12) note that the 1857 Census was more successful and reliable than the 1850 Census, as the 1857 Census data was collected house-to-house and the information requested was more clearly specified.

various times over the past 1100 years, including among others: the Hungarian historians, István Lázár (1989) and Miklós Molnár (2001), also co-authors, Péter Őri and Levente Pakot (2011); the Hungaro-American historian, William Toth (1942); and the Hungarian-expatriate historian, Endrey (1982).

Ethnicity and Population Size of the 'First Arriving' Magyars

According to generally-accepted scholarship, the initial cohort of ethnic Magyars in the late Ninth Century comprised seven groups, speculated variously as numbering between 60,000 and 500,000 individuals (Toth, 1942: 35; Endrey, 1982: 42; Lázár, 1989: n.p.n; Molnár, 2001: 16). These widely-differing estimates, however, only have value if one accepts Magyar ethnicity as having existed prior to that time. One scholar, however, Hungarian historian, András Róna-Tas, has disputed that view, claiming "the history of the Magyars began when they became a people proper. Anything before that [i.e. before the Conquest Era] will be considered the prehistory of the Magyars" (Róna-Tas, 1999: 4). By this, Róna-Tas meant that the concept of a *Magyar* ethnicity only rightly began once the Magyars were settled in the Basin and became a united 'people', an event that effectively occurred, in his view, only with the coronation of their first king, István I [in English, Stephen I] in 1000/01CE (Róna-Tas, 1999: 4—5). If that view were accepted, then the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis would already be solved and Magyar ethnogenesis began, as Róna-Tas stated, on "the date of…the symbolic and legal event of the coronation of Saint Stephen in 1000 AD…on the first of January 1001" (Róna-Tas, 1999: 5). However, many scholars would disagree with that view, seeing ethnicity as a far more personal self-identity issue, one that could not just be created or destroyed by a single act, even one so elaborate and weighty as a king's coronation.

Furthermore, what Róna-Tas ascribed to the prehistory or proto-history (Róna-Tas, 1999:4) of the Magyars would be part of their ethnogenesis, not a precursor to it. Indeed, if Magyar ethnogenesis was such a simple issue to resolve as attaching a particularly famous event and date to it, the likelihood would have been that many scholars much earlier than Róna-Tas would have taken that relatively easy approach. In that case, the role of the Magyar language in the ethnic emergence of the people, a key part of their self-identity, would not have been as heavily examined and disputed over the past two centuries as it has been - nor would it have so profoundly occupied the minds and work of the scholars to be discussed.

A point that Róna-Tas made that is acceptable, however, refers to the names that others contemporary with the first-arriving Magyars, called them. He noted those names included: Majgar, or possibly Majaer, by the Khazars; Bashkir, by the Volga Bulghars; Turk, by the

Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (reigned 913—959); and Ungri, by the Slavs (Róna-Tas, 1999: 46, 53, 310). The significance of these other names to the study lies in the confusion that their use in other texts has created for many researchers who sought to establish the ethnicity and early movements of the Magyars by examining their ethnic name (Róna-Tas, 1999: 273, 276, 284—310). The debate focussed on whether the name 'Magyar' had derived from those other names or had originated in one of the locations to which the scholars had alluded as pre-Carpathian locations for the Magyars, such as Bashkiria (around the southern steppes of the Ural Mountains) or among the Turkic peoples further south of that (Róna-Tas, 1999: 284—310).

Variations in the number of first-arriving Magyars have relied to a degree on whether all seven 'Magyar' groups were viewed as ethnic Magyar (e.g. Lázár 1989: n.p.n.) or only the leading group, the Megyers (Róna-Tas, 1999: 305, 350), were considered Magyars and the rest of the cohort were viewed as a collection of other ethnic groups. Subscribing to this latter view, Róna-Tas noted that "the leading strata of the conquering Magyars [that is, the Megyers] believed that they were of Attila's [the Hun] progeny, while they concurrently held that the forebear of the ruling Magyar dynasty was a hawk" (Róna-Tas, 1999: 9, 423) - a reference to the Megyers' hawk totem. Róna-Tas further noted that the Megyers' descent from Attila was not a historical fact, but a legitimising 'reference', and that, pre-Chingis Khan,[28] the leading strata of several nomadic steppe peoples believed they were descended from Attila (Róna-Tas, 1999: 9, 423).[29] By this, Róna-Tas suggested the Megyer group (whose most famous member was the Magyars' supreme chief, Árpád) connected themselves for political purposes with the then already ancient and reputedly brutal Attila and his Hun warriors (Róna-Tas, 1999: 424). At the time of their arrival in the Basin, the Basin's other inhabitants[30] were still recovering in numbers from devastating attacks by the Franks in the later Eighth Century (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 18; Fodor, 1996e: 16). Therefore, the implied motive for the Megyers' association of themselves with Attila was to legitimise their claim to the land (Róna-Tas, 1999: 424, 426), and to enforce that claim by spreading fear of further devastation among the Basin's inhabitants, so as to secure their new place with minimal resistance from its existing occupants.

[28] Hungarians use the name Chingis Khan for the Mongol leader called in English Genghis Khan (1162—1227).

[29] Apparently, the idea of a Magyar-Hun kinship goes back to at least the Tenth Century, when Diaconus referred to the Magyars as Huns and Scythians (Róna-Tas, 1999: 53). Then, in the Twelfth Century, Gottfried of Viterbo wrote: "Ungari etiam Huni sunt appellati" [in English, "The Magyars are called Huns as well"] - Latin text and translation in Balázs & Szelényi (1989: 66), see also Róna-Tas (1999: 423).

[30] Róna-Tas provides a summary of the other ethnic groups in the Carpathian Basin in the Ninth Century, including just prior to and during the Conquest Era (Róna-Tas, 1999: 263—266).

Whether one accepts the first-arriving Magyars as all ethnic-Magyars or preferred Róna-Tas' view of some having been ethnic-Hun or indirectly descended from the Huns, all population estimations for the ancient Magyars, as noted earlier, are largely speculative, with no actual document from the period known to exist that elaborated on their number. Thus, the best that could be said with any certainty was that a sizeable contingent of people who lived similar lives and communicated with each other using an archaic form of the Magyar language, arrived in the Carpathian Basin from somewhere East of the Basin during the last years of the Ninth Century and displaced or absorbed its existing inhabitants.

Many possibilities could be offered for the lack of clarity about the size and ethnic breakdown of the new arrivals. The absence of formal population counting in the Basin until the Eighteenth Century was, as noted previously, a certain contributing factor. Another could be the non-existence of verifiable reports on army or settlement sizes for the ancient Magyars or the pre-existing Basin inhabitants, that could have assisted in making well-reasoned estimates of the ethnic displacement that occurred with the arrival of the Magyar cohort. While a further possibility may be disagreement among scholars from the Nineteenth Century onwards about the ethnic attribution of the many burial finds made in the past 200 years that were associated with the Conquest Era and immediately thereafter.[31]

The first official data collections that included information on ethnicity occurred only in the late Eighteenth Century (1784—85), while only at the start of the Nineteenth Century was population data collected in a sufficiently comprehensive and standardised manner as to be useful for comparative and trend analyses of ethnicities (Őri & Pakot, 2011: 12). Commenting on that situation, Őri and Pakot noted that although the 1857 Census was more thorough than its predecessors the question of national (or ethnic) identification was not addressed, with the emphasis in that Census instead on the ages of respondents and their professions (Őri & Pakot, 2011: 12).

While Őri and Pakot did not explain the change in focus of that Census, one politically-motivated possibility could be that, with the Habsburgs moving ethnic German settlers into the North of the Magyar Kingdom during that period, concentrating on ages and professions in the Census, while ignoring ethnic self-identification, may have been a tactic intended to claim the new settlers were Hungarians, regardless of their ethnicity. Once resettled, the ethnic Germans could then begin, if they so chose, to refer to themselves as Hungarians in order to increase their acceptance by their ethnic Magyar neighbours. This would seem a likely proposition given that

[31] The respective views of the scholars with regard to the burials are taken up in chapters 5 and 6.

many Germanic residents of the Kingdom replaced their German surnames with magyarised ones in the period from 1800 to 1895 (MHGT, 1895), including several of the scholars to be discussed (see Chapter 3 for more on this).

Ethnic Composition of the Kingdom's Early Non-Magyar Inhabitants

From its earliest days, as noted earlier, Hungary has been home continuously to several ethnicities (Anonymus, c.1238 s.9.27, s.11.33; Kézai, c.1282—1285: 2, 23; Macartney, 1953: 64—65, 70), with the Magyar group the largest of these. Molnár (2001: 3) noted that when the Magyars arrived, the Carpathian Basin was already occupied by Eastern Franks, Moravians, Bulgars, remnants of the Avars, and some Slavs. Róna-Tas similarly noted Avars, a large cohort of ethnic Slav, and some Frankish, Bavarian, and other Germanic settlers (e.g. Róna-Tas, 1999: 264; Molnár, 2001: 2—4).

Population numbers for the non-Magyar ethnic groups at that time are unknown, but can be expected to have fluctuated significantly as some relocated into or out of the Basin, diseases ravaged existing populations and battles between the groups took their share of souls (Róna-Tas, 1999: 263—266). Scholars further noted that the Magyars conquered these other inhabitants over a 5—10-years period at the end of the Ninth and start of the Tenth centuries (Tóth, 1942: 35, 36; Róna-Tas, 1999: 263—266) - a task possibly made easier for them by these other weakening factors.

On arrival, the Magyars are generally accepted as having been accompanied by three other groups that may have been from one ethnicity or a mixture of several (e.g. Lázár, 1989: n.p.; Róna-Tas, 1999: 348). Róna-Tas (1999: 348) suggested their name, 'Khavars' (or 'Kabars'), may have been given to them following their union with the Magyars, although the actual origin of the name is unknown. Their presence has been explained by their having joined the Magyars for protection when they purportedly all left the security of the Khazarian Empire sometime in the early Ninth Century, and then together migrated further westward to the Carpathian Basin (e.g. Róna-Tas, 1999: 347—348; Molnár, 2001: xii, 9—10, 12). However, even less is known about them than about the Magyars, so much of what has been claimed about them is only speculation.

While some neighbouring steppe peoples had already relocated there (Molnár, 2001: 32; András Pálóczi-Horváth, 2003: 291—292), following a Mongol attack on Cuman tribes between the Dnieper and Dniester rivers in 1237 the remaining 60—80,000 Cumans with their king Kötöny, sought and were granted refuge in the Magyar Kingdom in exchange for fealty to King Béla IV (r.

1235—1270) (Ervin Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 56). The higher Magyar nobles pressured Béla to oust the Cumanians, but he held out for a time fearing a Mongol attack on the Kingdom (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 56). The Cumanians, however, fled Hungary for the Balkans when Kötöny was murdered by a mob incited by the higher nobles (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 57).

Later in that century, following decimation of the Kingdom by invading Mongols, a second wave of immigrants, including more Cumanians, as well as Germans, Walloons, Pechenegs, Poles, Iazigs and others from the Russian steppes, was invited by Béla IV to repopulate the decimated areas and defend the borders of the Kingdom (István Gyárfás, 1873: 432—435, 438—443; Pál Engel *et al*, 2001: 30; Molnár, 2001: 37—38; Tudor Sălăgean, 2005: 235; Florin Curta, 2006: 414). Consequently, by the end of the Thirteenth Century, the Magyar Kingdom was even more ethnically mixed than when the Magyars first arrived.

The arrival of new 'foreign' immigrants was a saviour for the Kingdom at times when it was threatened from outside, such as during the long years of attacks by the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries (Molnár, 2001: 94—96, 102). However, while ostensibly having the same legal rights and status as the Magyars, in practice the non-Magyar ethnic groups had limited rights and their presence in the Kingdom was a source of ongoing tension with the existing population (Molnár, 2001: 94—96, 102). That tension was exemplified by two failed Cumanian rebellions in 1280 and 1282, following which many Cumanians fled to Wallachia to escape reprisal (Györffy, 1963: 56; István Vásáry, 2005). On 10th July 1290, three Cumanian leaders then murdered the Magyar king, László IV (Pálóczi-Horváth, 1989: 122), creating even more problems between the Magyars and Cumanians.

Historical Documentary Opacity

Earliest Known Writings about the Magyars

The earliest known writings about the ancient Magyars before their first arrival took several forms and were written by a range of individuals, both domestic to the Kingdom and foreign. There are no known documents by the Magyars themselves that precede their arrival in the Carpathian Basin and recount their pre-Conquest Era history, though brief mentions are made about the Magyars in a few documents written by contemporary 'foreign' sources that note aspects of their customs and activities, as viewed by those writers. These documents include: the *Annales Fuldenses*, compiled in 901 by monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Fulda (Róna-Tas, 1999: 335), in which the Magyars are called Avars; the *World Chronicle*, compiled c. 908 by Abbot

Regino of Prüm (Róna-Tas, 1999: 11); and the *Antapodosis* [in English, 'Retribution'] written c.960 by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (Róna-Tas, 1999: 57). Several other texts also describe battles involving the Magyars or were written by individuals who had contact with the Magyars (see below, and Róna-Tas, 1999: 49, 224).

De Administrando Imperio (DAI)

Among the various early texts, the one generally considered the most informative and quoted most often, is the *De Administrando Imperio* [in English, 'On Administering the Empire', abbreviated hereafter to DAI]. Compiled and edited in 948-952CE by Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII (r. 913—959) for his son, Romanus, to reference when he ascended the throne, the DAI was not used, as Romanus died prematurely (John Bagnell Bury, 1905: 522ff; Róna-Tas, 1999: 492). Originally untitled and written in Greek, the collection of papers was given its Latin name by the Dutch humanist, Johannes van Meurs (a.k.a Meursius) in 1611 (Gyula Moravcsik, 1967: 11, Róna-Tas, 1999: 54). The sections relating to the Magyars form part of an English translation by Romilly Jenkins (edited and published under Moravcsik's name in 1967). That volume includes the original Greek text and its English translation and has been used in this study.

In the DAI, Constantine briefly described the pre-Conquest history of the Magyars, their association with the Khazarian Empire, and their method of anointing a new leader (Moravcsik, 1967: 168—173). Constantine always referred to the Magyars as *Turks*, while also noting that they had been called *Sabartoi asphaloi* or *Savarti Asfali* at a previous time (Moravcsik, 1967: 171; Róna-Tas, 1999: 212), but offering no indication of when or why such a major name change might have occurred. He also recorded the names of the seven Magyar groups as he understood them: *Neke*, *Megere*, *Kourtougermatos*, *Tarianos*, *Genach*, *Kare* and *Kase* respectively (Constantine VII, 948—952: Chapter 40; Macartney, 1930: 231; Moravcsik, 1967: 181; Gyula László, 1996: 41; Györffy, 1997; Róna-Tas, 1999: 430—431). The accepted Magyar translations for these names respectively are: *Nyék*, *Megyer*, *Kürtgyarmat*, *Tarján*, *Jenő*, *Kér a*nd *Keszi* (László, 1996: 41).

Several comprehensive analyses were conducted in the early-Twentieth Century demonstrating that each document of the DAI concerned a different topic and that the entire collection had been written over a period (e.g. Bury, 1905, 1920; Gavro Manojlović, 1910; Macartney 1930; Dr. Ljudmil Hauptmann, 1931). Each addition apparently instigated amendments for cohesion to the existing documents, while introducing unintentional errors (Bury, 1906, 1920; Manojlović,

1910; Macartney, 1930: 136—151; Hauptmann, 1931—1942). For instance, Chapters 29—36, which discussed the Southern Slavs and briefly mentioned the Magyars, were concluded by Bury to be well-researched and written but contained important historical inaccuracies on the settlement and activities of the Slavs and showed that Constantine had confused the Slavs with the Avars (Bury, 1920: v—vi, 12, 16fn1, 45—47). Whereas, in Chapters 37—42, which included the Magyars, Macartney (1930: 139—151) also noted several errors and inconsistencies that supported the observations by Bury. However, Macartney also criticised Bury and another scholar, Géza Fehér (1921, 1922), for what he considered were wrong assumptions in their analyses (e.g. Macartney, 1930: 138, 146). Macartney further explained the errors and inconsistencies in the DAI by the documents having been written at different times using different sources (Pecheneg, Slavonic, and Magyar), with each source offering a different perspective on the events and people described (Macartney, 1930). Moravcsik listed these sources and the sections to which they contributed, including: excerpts from the Bible; the works of various ancient Greek and Roman writers; and texts by numerous Byzantine authors (Moravcsik, 1967: 337—341). Of note among these were the writings of Constantine's father, the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI 'the Wise' (r. 866—912) (Róna-Tas, 1999: 492), who described the Magyars and their battle prowess in his compilation of military texts known today as *Taktica* (written 900-912CE) (Moravcsik, 1967: 340), although Róna-Tas dated it more specifically to 904CE (Róna-Tas, 1999: 53, 275). Moravcsik also noted corruptions and errors in the DAI which he and Jenkins had attempted to correct in their translation (Moravcsik, 1967: 4). Where those errors related to the Magyars, such as with their ethnic name, the DAI inaccuracies further complicated the issue of knowledge about the Magyars pre-Conquest history and their time and place of ethnic emergence.

Noting these reservations regarding the accuracy of the DAI, the section generally considered as the most reliable by scholars is the report of an ambassadorial visit (c.950CE) to the Court of Constantine by two Magyar princes called Termecsü and Bulcsú, the latter as *gyula* [in English, 'military leader'], to inform Constantine directly about their people (Róna-Tas, 1999: 54, 116, 345, 415; Molnár, 2001: 11). Róna-Tas suggested that Chapter 38, which detailed the elevation of Árpád to prince and leader of the Magyars, was based on that encounter between Constantine and the two princes (Róna-Tas, 1999: 416—417), though the DAI itself did not refer to this meeting as its source.

Of interest, however, for a story of leadership that bears importance to the pre-Conquest history of the Magyars, the elevation of Árpád to the first supreme leader of the Magyars, the DAI stated that Árpád had become supreme leader when another candidate, a chieftain named Levedias

(or Lebedias), refused the post (Macartney, 1930: 230). However, the early Magyar chronicles ascribed the anointment of first supreme leadership to Álmos, Árpád's father, and as having occurred at a 'blood mixing and drinking' ceremony, where the other chieftains purportedly vowed to support the lineage of Álmos until it ended (Endrey, 1982: 33). The Magyar chronicles apparently placed strong emphasis on a claimed 'divine birth' for Álmos as the reason for his elevation to first supreme leader, and that, only when the Magyars were approaching the Carpathian Basin, was he ritually killed to allow Árpád to become sole ruler (Endrey, 1982: 33). The difference between the narratives in the ancient texts has relevance to the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis in that it illustrates that, even at the fundamental level of identifying the Magyars' first supreme leader in near-historic times, there has been confusion, that has impacted on modern perceptions about the ethnic emergence and movement of the Magyars.

The Earliest Magyar Chronicles (Gesta)

It is prudent also to note the many doubts expressed by other scholars who have examined the earliest available writings about the Magyars (e.g. Robert Gyula Cey-Bert, R. Gy. 2001: 15—19; Lajos Horváth, 2001: 128—129; Molnár, 2001: 11). Most notable among those early writings are the first known to have been written by the Magyars about themselves, chronicling their prehistory and early post-Conquest history. Collectively known as *gesta* [in English, 'long chronicles'], the larger volumes were written either by scribes to the Courts of several Magyar kings or by clerics acting independently as early Magyar historians. In the main, they were penned between the late-Tenth and Sixteenth centuries, with none dating to the actual Conquest Era or before, so their reconstructions of the pre-Carpathian activities of the Magyars, as the documents themselves sometimes state, were compiled as edited transcriptions from preceding texts and are also subject to claims of fallibility (e.g. see Macartney, 1930 - on Arab and Persian texts).

Among the many gesta known from later centuries, two are most often quoted. The first was written by a magister and court scribe writing c.1200, whose name is known today only as 'P', as the first page of his text was damaged at some early point and only his description of himself as 'P. dictus magister' remained (Macartney, 1953: 61; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 44; Martyn Rady & László Veszprémy, 2010: xix—xx).[32] Thus, this writer was dubbed 'Anonymus', using the Latin spelling. Based on his self-description, scholars generally believe that Anonymus wrote during

[32] Scholars are unclear as to whether the 'P' was the first letter of his name or was an abbreviation of the Latin word *praedictus* [in English, 'on the aforementioned page'] and that an earlier page was missing (Macartney, 1953: 61; Rady & Veszprémy, 2010: xix—xx).

the reign of one of the Magyar kings named Béla, most probably Béla IV (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 44), although Béla III (r. 1172—1196) is also a potential candidate.

Anonymus wrote in Latin and his text has been translated into Magyar (e.g. by Dezső Pais in István Fogarasi, 1998). For use in this text, I have translated into English excerpts from Pais' version, while citing the relevant sections from the original text by Anonymus.[33] Using this multi-translation method, and acknowledging its potential imperfections, the text by Anonymus (c.1238: s.1) noted that the people were called 'Hungarus' by foreign-speaking people, but called themselves Magyars, and that the Magyars came from the Scythian lands (see Fig. 2.5 below). His gesta placed the Magyars at that time somewhere in the East, between the 'Northern region' and the South towards to the Black Sea, in an area which he claimed the Magyars had called "Dentu-Mogyeria" (Anonymus, c.1238: s.1).

Fig.2.5 Approximate location of Scythia c.100BC. (Map by D. Bachmann, no date: wikimedia)

This map (Fig.2.5) provides a view of the extent of the Scythian lands and suggests the Uralic people lived just North of the Scythian land and the Turkic people at its North-eastern end. All estimates for this distribution and any other such maps of those ancient times, however, are approximations only, with little documented evidence of actual territorial borders for many of the peoples of that region, including the claimed nomadic Magyars.

[33] Accepting that there may be some idiomatic discrepancies in this method, readers of Latin may wish to refer to the original Latin text, which is held in the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest.

Anonymus further ascribed the paternal ancestry of the Magyars to a king he called Magog, a son of Japhet, the youngest son of the Biblical Noah, and that from that same King Magog descended Ügyek, father of Álmos (Anonymus, c.1238: s.1). He noted that he had based his descriptions of the Magyars' pre-Conquest history on stories provided by local peasants, and that his personal skepticism about those stories had caused him to correct them selectively as he recorded down, to assuage the political needs of his king (Anonymus, c.1238: s.1). Thus, given his own stated skepticism about his sources and his admission to making politically-motivated adjustments, scholars today treat the Anonymus gesta with considerable reservation. One particularly scathing attack on it was by historian, László Makkai, who wrote that: "It is obvious...that Anonymus had simply projected back to…the Conquest the ethnic and political pattern that prevailed in Hungary's vicinity in his own time, i.e. in the early 13th century [and] simply noted what countries adjoined the Hungary of his day, and drew retroactive conclusions" (Makkai, 2001). Makkai further claimed that Anonymus: had converted toponyms into the names of Conquest-era potentates; had invented the names Salán, Laborc, Ménmarót, Galád, Zobor and Gyalu, and must have been familiar with an earlier claimed gesta, but had purposely ignored the names in that text (e.g. Marót, Svatopluk, and Keanus Magnus) (Makkai, 2001).

The other frequently quoted gesta was written c.1282—1285CE by Simon Kézai (a.k.a Simon de Kéza), a scribe in the Court of László IV (r. 1272—1290) (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 45). Accepted as partly based on Anonymus, Kézai's original Latin manuscript by no longer survives, but has been copied many times over succeeding centuries and brought to the general attention of the Austro-Hungarian public in 1766 by Ferenc Ádám Kollár (1718—1783), then First Custodian of the Viennese Imperial Library (Csaba Megyesi, 2004: 8792). A copy, titled *Simonis de Keza, Chronicum Hungaricum elegans opusculu*, is known also to have existed but disappeared in 1636 from the library at Zsámbok, a village in Pest County, Hungary (Megyesi, 2004: 8792).

The first Magyar translation of the Kézai gesta, made by Károly Szabó at Pest in 1862, significantly reflected the Anonymus text, but claimed Scythia had three parts (Baskar, Dent and Magyar) (Kézai 5. §, translated by Károly Szabó, 1862). Like Anonymus, Kézai claimed the Magyars descended from Mogor (note the slight variation in spelling), but attributed his paternity to Menroth the Great (Kézai, c.1282—1285: 2, 3. §.; Lázár, 1989: s.2 n.p.), a.k.a Nimrud, the founder of the ancient cities of Babel, Erech and Achad, in Sennaar (Genesis 10:10 in Bishop Richard Challoner, 1749-1752: 14). Departing from Anonymus, Vékony, 2002: 199—200 (Vékony, 2002: 199—200), not the Scythians. Anonymus, however, had only briefly mentioned an ancestral association between the Magyar leader, Árpád, and the Hun leader, Attila (Anonymus, c.1238: s.1). Kézai noted that, apart from Magyar sources, he had used

contemporary Italian, French and German sources to build his story (Kézai, c.1282—1285: 'Előbeszéd' [in English, 'Foreword']; Megyesi, 2004: 8792.), but did not identify them.

Molnár criticised Anonymus and Kézai as "not [being] historians who practised critical appraisal of sources [but had merged] the very likely memory of an abode near the Azov Sea with the improbable legend of a family connection with Attila's Huns" (Molnár, 2001: 13), although he too provided no further evidence to support his objection.

Some modern scholars also have claimed these, and other later, chronicles were based on an earlier text dubbed *Gesta Hungarorum* (e.g. (Lázár, 1989: s.3 n.p.; Molnár, 2001: 10; Róna-Tas, 1999: 415). Purportedly written in the late-Eleventh Century and therefore closer in time to the Magyars' arrival in the Carpathian Basin, the scholars have claimed this earlier document was possibly less moderated and more accurate regarding the pre-Conquest Magyars (Lázár, 1989: s.3 n.p.; Róna-Tas, 1999: 415; Molnár, 2001: 10). However, they have not been able to trace the document and, instead, have claimed that it was lost centuries ago (Lázár, 1989: s.3 n.p.; Róna-Tas, 1999: 415; Molnár, 2001: 10), basing their justification for its existence only on a circular argument regarding the origin of the contents of the later documents.

Disputing the existence of this earlier gesta, Macartney preferred to accept that the later chroniclers combined several unknown sources to form their texts (Macartney 1930; 1938—1951: 505—506, 541, 544, 561). Although unpopular among Hungarian scholars, Macartney's opinion conforms to the claims by Anonymus and Kézai regarding their writings, suggesting a third view of combining both alternatives may have been possible.

Later Magyar Chronicles

Among the works by later scribes and historians, three are especially noteworthy for their contributions to in Nineteenth-century ideas about the ancient history of the Magyars and in perpetuating views on the customs and habits brought by the Magyars to the Carpathian Basin.

The first of these texts was the *Chronicon Pictum*, known also by other names, including the *Képes Krónika* [in English, Illuminated Chronicle] (Róna-Tas, 1999: 58). Written in the reign of Lajos I (1342—1382), this chronicle claimed to relate the history of the Magyars from their arrival in the Carpathian Basin to the Fourteenth Century. In its introduction, the unknown author noted the text was compiled from various unstated, earlier chronicles (Kornél Szovák, 2004: 239). Some scholars have attributed authorship of this chronicle to Mark of Kalt (Canon of Veszprém County, chaplain to the Queen, and Keeper of the Royal Manuscripts) (Ferencz Toldy,

1851; Emil Jakubovich, 1924—1925; László Kardos, 1938; Kristó, 1985; Rose Stein, 1986: 1); while others have insisted the evidence for an identification is insufficient (Géza Karsai, 1938; László Erdélyi, 1944).

The second text, the *Chronicon Budense,* was printed in Hungary in mid-1473 at the publishing house of Andreas Hess (Róna-Tas, 1999: 58), and is generally accepted as having been largely written in 1365 (Josephus Podhradczky, 1838: 1; Editors, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2006: "Chronicon"). However, Slavic historian, Lesław Spychała (2015), has suggested that Hess himself wrote at least part of the chronicle just before its printing. In two sections over 246 chapters, the text conveyed Magyar history "from biblical times up to 1468" (Spychała, 2015), the first section describing the history of the Huns, and the second, the Magyars. The chronicle was later republished with additional notes by Podhradczky (1838).

The third text, *Chronica Hungarorum I*, was authored by János Thuroczy,[34] a magister, historian and prothonotary[35] in the court of King Mátyás I 'Corvinus' (r. 1458—1490) and published in Augsburg, Germany, in 1488. It related the history of the Magyars post-arrival but extended that history to the reign of Mátyás.

Scholars who have examined these later documents[36] have concluded that, where they have addressed the Magyars' prehistoric and early post-Conquest periods, they have largely relied on Anonymus and Kézai, but made amendments reflecting their own beliefs and local needs. Thus, while these chronicles have provided useful information about their own eras, their treatments of Magyar prehistory have only added further to the uncertainty over Magyar ethnogenesis.

Arab and Persian Writers

Macartney extensively analysed the writings of Ninth and early-mid Tenth century Arab and Persian writers, including the works of: Mas'udi (c.940); Al-Džaihāni (possibly pre-925); Al-Bekrī (c.1094); Gardězi (1050—1052); and Abū 'Ali Ahmad (a.k.a Omar ibn Rusta, c.930), who called the Magyars 'Majghars' (Macartney, 1930; Róna-Tas, 1999: 295).[37] According to Macartney,

[34] See Elemer Mályusz (1944) for a publication of Thuroczy's 1488 chronicle.

[35] A Prothonotary is a "Chief clerk in some law courts, esp. (hist.) Chancery, Common Pleas, & King's Bench (orig. in Byzantine court)", Fowler, Henry Watson & Francis George Fowler (eds.), 1964, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 5th Edn, p. 985 'protocol-provide'.

[36] For example, for Thuroczy's life and works see Mályusz (1944) and Kristó (1985); while for the *Thuroczy Krónika*, see Levente Závodszky (1904: 131-194), Jenő Szűcs (1971: 1-8 in Veszprémy and Schaer (eds.) 1999), Monika Jánosi (1978, 225-254), Kristó (1985) and Zsuzsa Maurer (1985: 95-96). Regarding the 'Chronic Hungarorum' of Kalti, the writings of Edith Hoffmann (1933: 289-296), Dezső Dercsényi & Sz. Vajay (1977:3-20) and Tünde Wehli (1985: 104-105) are useful.

[37] In recognition of his stature in the field of Magyar history, Macartney was elected an 'External member' of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1946 (Glatz, 2003). While the value of his work was further recognised in neighbouring Austria in 1974 by the award of the 'Großes Goldenes Ehrenzeichen' [in English, 'Grand Golden

their texts were compilations of other writings, with the two base documents possibly written by Al-Džaihāni and Ibn Rusta, although some discrepancies there had left some doubt in his mind (Macartney, 1930; Macartney in Czigány & Péter, 1999: 20—31).

No Definitive History and Few Facts

The doubts expressed about the Magyar chronicles and texts by foreigners support the view that no existing document can be said accurately to record the lives and travels of the ancient Magyars up to the end of the Conquest Era (c.910), with available documents only leaving many questions unanswered. Thus, the only fact that can be accepted is that, arriving as a sizeable group, the Magyars and others accompanying them had been led by Árpád of the Megyer tribe, when they had crossed the Carpathian Mountains entering the Basin via a series of passes on its eastern perimeter,[38] sometime in the last decade of the Ninth Century,

Long-Term Political Variability

Political turmoil was a common problem throughout the history of the Magyar Kingdom, which can be divided into three parts, each having played a role in the issue of the Uralic theory. The first part spanned approximately 405 years from the Magyars' arrival in the Carpathian Basin to 1301, and collectively is known as the era of the Árpádian kings. During those centuries, the prehistory of the Magyars was written and rewritten by various chroniclers in the service of their respective monarchs. So, the information those chroniclers provided was, as even admitted by Anonymus himself, coloured by the politics of their day. The second part, of 398 years duration (1301 to 1699), saw the Magyar Kingdom split between three distinct ruling regimes and experiencing frequent major disputes between them and consequent border changes. In that period, the allegiances of the people were necessarily impacted by the political reality of the three territorial divisions and the frequent conflicts between their rulers, as well as famine and disease leaving their mark on the surviving populace. The third historical part, known as the Habsburg Era, lasted 217 years (1700—1916), with the Kingdom re-united under one ruling

Decoration of Honour'] (Prammer, 2012: 398), in Hungary today his views appear largely to have been forgotten, as they are rarely cited by scholars there – a situation that may be due to the abrupt severing of communications between Hungarians and foreign scholars at the creation of the 'Iron Curtain' in 1947, which was followed by a long period of isolation under Soviet control and anti-Western political propaganda making foreign views less acceptable to Hungarian scholars living through that period. With the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and Hungary regaining its independence in 1990, scholars there are again interacting with and becoming more open to foreign views. However, Macartney's earlier work remains unknown to many.

[38] The most famous of those is a north-eastern pass known as Verecke and situated at the western end of modern-day Ukraine.

dynasty and undergoing significant political, economic and social change (Molnár, 2001: 131—133).

While the early history forged the character of the Magyar people, the literature also highlights several later events that appeared to have had a lasting impact on the political views of Hungarians into the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, in particular: the later nobility's belief in their inalienable ancient rights and freedoms, and a general antipathy towards foreign rule.

The first was in the Thirteenth Century, when Béla IV reclaimed royal estates that his father, Andras II, had earlier granted to the nobles in exchange for their loyalty – an unpopular move among the nobility (Endrey, 1982: 116; Makkai, 1994: 25; Molnár, 2001: 35—36). Consequently, when the Mongols invaded his Kingdom in early 1241, Béla received little initial support from the higher nobles and a successful triangular assault by the Mongols at the Battle of Mohi in April 1241 left much of the Kingdom in ruins (Patrick, 1961: 13; Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 57; Endrey, 1982: 117; Veszprémy, 2010: 34). With only limited resistance, the Mongols soon overran the territory east of the Danube, using and slaying the population at will (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 57—58).

The Fourteenth-century Kingdom also experienced political turmoil, with a revolt among the peasantry during the reign of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387—1437) (Molnár, 2001: 60). At the same time, although most internal problems were the result of power struggles between the nobility and the Crown, the Kingdom also suffered from frequent territorial conflicts (Molnár, 2001: 56, 60). In particular, Ottoman incursions into the Balkan territories saw a major defeat of the Serbs, that was followed by increased Ottoman pressure on the Kingdom (Molnár, 2001: 56, 60). In 1396, at the Battle of Nicopolis (in today's Bulgaria), Ottoman forces defeated a combined Magyar-French force led by Sigismund and the son of his ally, Philip of Artois, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Eu (1358—1397) (Tuchman, 1978: 545—546, 548, 554; Endrey, 1982: 161—162; Molnár, 2001: 56, 60).[39] Nevertheless, despite his many political problems, Sigismund managed to retain the Magyar throne for 50 years, while also becoming King and then Emperor of Germany in 1410, and King of Bohemia in 1419 (Kampers, 1912: 784b).

During the reign of László V (1452-1457), the nobility held the real power in the Kingdom and elected several successive officials to run the Kingdom's affairs. The first and most influential

[39] Chisholm (1911: "Sigismund') records that "Sigismund led the combined armies of Christendom against the Turks [and that] This crusade, preached by Pope Boniface IX., was very popular in Hungary. The nobles flocked in thousands to the royal standard and were reinforced by volunteers from nearly every part of Europe, the most important contingent being that of the French led by John, Duke of Nevers, son of Philip II, Duke of Burgundy.

was János Hunyadi, who ruled as Regent for six years (1446—1452), but maintained control over the Kingdom until his death in 1456 (Endrey, 1982: 174—178, 375; Lázár, 1989: Chapter 6; Molnár, 2001: 61, 63, 66). Earlier in that same year, Hunyadi had been credited with defeating the Ottoman forces at the Siege of Nándorfehérvár (now, Belgrade), (Endrey, 1982: 177—178; Lázár, 1989: Chapter 6; Molnár, 2001: 61, 63, 66; Kerny, 2008: 79—90), making him a hero among the people, while László's reputation suffered.

Political instability continued with a Czech king, Ulászló II of the Jagiellonians (r. 1490-1515) on the Magyar throne (Endrey, 1982: 196). His reign saw the excision of Austrian and Bohemian territories previously conquered by Mátyás, and much domestic dissent, highlighted by another peasant revolt in 1514 (Endrey, 1982: 200—201; Molnar, 2001: 82—83).

Fig.2.6 Untitled map of Europe in the early-mid 1500s, with the Habsburg lands and the Ottoman Empire, showing Hungary split between the two, with Buda-Pest under Ottoman control. The location of the Ottoman forces defeat of the Magyars' at the 1526 Battle of Mohacs is highlighted. That defeat resulted in the Kingdom then being divided into three (Map by M.T. McInneshin, 2016).

The Magyar king, Lajos II (1516—1526), then experienced renewed attacks from the Ottoman forces, beginning with a second siege at Nándorfehérvár in 1521 (Endrey, 1982: 199, 203, 204; Molnár, 2001: 88). Severely outnumbered, the Magyar army was devastated at the Battle of Mohács on 29th August 1526 (Fig.2.6) and Lajos himself drowned in the Csele Creek (Endrey, 1982: 204; Molnár, 2001: 85, 88). The Mohács defeat and the loss of their King proved a major turning point in the history of the Kingdom (Molnár, 2001: 85). Over the next 150 years, the

Basin and its inhabitants were divided between the three rulers – the Habsburgs in the West; the court of János Szápolyi and his descendants in the *Medium Regni* (Royal Centre);[40] and the Ottoman Empire, represented by the Bhatu Khan, in the South-East (see Fig.2.6 above). Then, in 1683, a failed Ottoman invasion of Austria enabled the Habsburgs and their allies[41] to advance and claim the remaining territory, including Transylvania, which had been governed by local princes for some time (Cathal J. Nolan, 2008: 24).

Language Constancy with More Recent Imposed 'Renewal'

While the *common people* have spoken the Magyar language from the beginnings of the Kingdom, the language of officialdom became Latin with the conversion of the populace to Roman Catholicism in the late-Tenth and early-Eleventh centuries (Endrey, 1982: 62—63). It remained so until 1844 when a widespread push for nationalism across Europe also entrenched itself among the ethnic groups within the Habsburg Empire, creating the environment for the adoption of a modernised and standardised Magyar language to become the new official language for the Kingdom and its administration (Arnold-Forster *et al*, 1880: 87). Thus, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, two of the key texts written by scholars included here were written in Latin, with the first of these translated into Magyar only much later in 1994.

Magyar, however, was not the only spoken language in the Kingdom during its history. With a mixed population throughout the centuries, other languages have included German, Romanian, Italian, Serbian and several Slavic languages (Kenesei, 2009: 63) – with many used at the same time. As the Habsburg policy of German immigration in the North, the German language became the more acceptable language for use among the social elite, particularly in the cities, where wealthy merchants were often of Germanic ethnicity (Endrey, 1982: 303). In 1784, Emperor Josef II decreed that German would replace Latin as the official language in the Magyar Kingdom, thereby placing greater pressure on Hungarian scholars, among others, who had spent their lives writing and corresponding in Latin to now learn German. He also demanded fluency in German as a requisite qualification for new members of the Magyar Diet, for admission to secondary education, and for public appointment (Endrey, 1982: 286; Molnár, 2001: 157), thereby severely

[40] The *Medium Regni* was an early name given to the central region of Hungary encompassing the major towns of Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, Visegrád and Buda, but the appellation "ceased to exist in 1543, with the death of János Szápolyi and the fall of Buda, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár, followed the next year by Visegrád, all of which came under Turkish rule" (Gergely Buzás *et al*, 2003: 348).

[41] The Habsburg army was assisted by troops from Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony, Prisia, the Rhineland Palatinate and several other European States (see Endrey, 1982, for more details on this alliance; and Taylor, 1964: 16, for more on the Turkish defeat).

limiting the ability of *average Magyars* to participate in the affairs of their Kingdom (Endrey, 1982: 286; Molnár, 2001: 157). Pro-Viennese officials within the Hungarian administration also perceived the German language as connecting them more closely with an assumed higher level of culture and sophistication than that of the average Hungarian and embraced the decree, learning and speaking German among themselves (László, 1988a: 2). Thus, over the next decades some Hungarians did not speak Magyar at all, including, according to Alan John Percivale (A.J.P.) Taylor, the Slovak mother of the leader of the 1848-49 Revolution, Lajos Kossuth (Taylor, 1964: 58). As will be seen in Chapter 3, several of the scholars examined herein grew up in non-Magyar-speaking homes and either had to be especially schooled in the Magyar language as children or had learnt it from friends as adults. So, Magyar was not their first language, and some of their texts were written in other languages that included German, but also the earlier used Latin, as well as French, English and, later still, Russian.

In 1844, with a growing awareness among the Hungarian nobility of a need to more formally assert the position of the Magyar Kingdom as a major member of the Habsburg Empire, it was considered necessary to *magyarise* the non-Magyar population (Molnár, 2001: 164—165). Making Magyar the main language in the Kingdom was viewed as a key method of achieving this (Taylor, 1948: 52; Endrey, 1982: 302, 303). The Magyar language was viewed as in need of cleansing from all foreign influences, coupled with an increase in its vocabulary through the creation of thousands of newly-coined words, and reform of its grammar (Endrey, 1982: 293; Molnár, 2001: 164). This movement was known as *nyelvújitás* [in English, 'renewal of the language'] (Molnár, 2001: 164—165). Consequently, the Hungarian Diet abolished the use of Latin and made Magyar the official language in the Kingdom, except for the Croatian Diet where Latin was retained for a further six years at the request of the Croatian nobility (Taylor, 1948: 52, 53; Endrey, 1982: 303). While the language change was supported enthusiastically by the nationalists, it, however, met with significant resistance among the non-Magyar population keen to retain their own languages, and the transition to one accepted national language was not a smooth one (Endrey, 1982: 303, 305). The German language also continued for a time to be a requirement for officials working for the Imperial government in Vienna and its administrative bodies, both in Vienna and Budapest (Molnár, 2001: 141). It was also the language of command in the army (Taylor, 1964: 209; Molnár, 2001: 141), an important consideration for any possible thought of future insurrection against Austrian rule. Moreover, as Magyar then was not widely taught in schools and there existed much dialectal variation in its usage among the population, local supporters of the change recognised that the language itself needed standardisation and renewal, both in grammar and spelling, and that this would have to be one of the first tasks

(Molnár, 2001: 164—165). As with any major reform, its implementation took time, considerable effort and some pain. Macartney (1937: 9—20) provides a detailed explanation of that period and the legal and political efforts made by supporters and opponents of the change to achieve their respective aims.

Reacting to the tense situation brought on by the new restrictions imposed by Franz I (r. 1792—1835) in the wake of the failed Martinovics conspiracy of 1792, some intellectuals in the Kingdom were inspired to invoke a sense of nationalism among the Magyar people (Endrey, 1982: 293; Molnár, 2001: 164). Led by Ferencz Kazinczy, a survivor of that conspiracy (Endrey, 1982: 293; Molnár, 2001: 164), the new nationalistic push focussed on the Magyar language (Endrey, 1982: 293; Molnár, 2001: 164—165), which, in turn, spurred a broader interest in heritage issues and the founding of several important institutions of learning and cultural development. Most significantly among these were the National Széchenyi Library and the Hungarian National Museum (see Chapters 3 and 4, for more on the roles of these two institutions). Perhaps unintentionally for the Magyars, the new focus on language and heritage also stimulated an increased interest in their own history among the minority ethnic groups in the Kingdom, whose political voices within the Empire were even less than that of the Magyars.[42] Their opposition to the Magyars' activities saw some side with the Habsburgs in the later 1848—49 Revolution (see Chapter 4 for more on this).

What can be Learnt from an Unclear Past?

As this chapter has shown, the history of the Magyar Kingdom was a combination of frequent changes to its geographic size and political dominion, influxes of multiple ethnic groups having both positive and negative effects, and a political system based on class distinctions that contributed to frequent power struggles among the nobility and dissatisfaction, sometimes revolt, by the lower-classes. The history showed a people often dominated by other groups, who sought at times, mostly unsuccessfully, to rid themselves of the yoke of those other groups and maintain their own distinct identity, while recognising their inability to survive in isolation, situated in the centre of Europe and surrounded by groups with different belief systems and cultures. It also showed a people who initially had a new religion foisted upon them, who then embraced that new religion, but later found the support of that religion wanting and sought a

[42] For instance, Taylor (1964: 204) noted that: "Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were sharply divided by history and by political allegiance…by religion and by culture. In fact, it needed ethnographers and pre-historians to bring out their common Slav character: hence the importance of archaeology and 'folk museums' in the creating of South Slav feeling".

range of spiritual avenues. Coupled with the initial change of religion was a change to the official language of the country to the language of that religion, and centuries of scholarly writing following only in that form. However, as the history also showed, the people then made a conscious decision to discard the official language and revert to their ancient Magyar language, while recognising and correcting the perceived inadequacies of their ancient language for use in their modern world.

As will be seen in later chapters, however, understanding the roots of that history in an earlier period before the Kingdom's establishment, is not a matter of simply knowing the key players in that history and their respective roles in its recording. The inadequacies of existing documentation for that earlier period, and the sources from which that information derived, have raised as many questions as they have answered. Uncertainties remain over even such basic matters as to the number of ancient Magyars in the first arriving group and where they settled when they arrived. Were they even all Magyars? Conversely, did they only become Magyars when they arrived? The lack of clear answers to these and many other related questions has fostered a continuing debate over the nature of the Magyars' ethnic origins – where and when, and to whom else they may be related.

In the following two chapters, I present the scholars of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries who effectively created and promoted the Uralic theory of Magyar ethnogenesis as the only acceptable view, together with the individuals, institutions and events, that had profound effects on their lives and helped shape their views. I look at the nature of those relationships and analyse their impact, concentrating on those elements of their lives where direct or indirect influences can be inferred from the available literature. In a later chapter, I then examine a select group of artefacts that were key among the initial finds associated with the ancient Magyars to see where and how, if at all, those relationships impacted on the interpretations of the artefacts with regard to ethnic associations.

Chapter 3

The Scholars and their Personal Connections

Many scholars over the past 200 years have played their part in creating, disseminating or perpetuating the dominance of the Uralic theory within Hungary as the 'true' story of the ethnic origins of the Magyars. These scholars have included: linguists, the first developers of the theory; antiquarians, who collected artefacts and ancient manuscripts interpreted by other scholars in favour of the theory; and archaeologists, who either sought to prove the theory through various means or remained silent in the face of alternative views. Some of the latter have even spent their careers avoiding the issue altogether, claiming the matter was resolved in the past and has no further relevance.

This study considered the scholars involved in the creation, further development or promotion of the Uralic theory in its early days, in an effort to determine whether their views were influenced by factors beyond the data they collected and studied. In examining the literature, it became clear that some scholars in those early days played greater roles than others, either as leaders in the issue or as influential supporters. The result was a narrowed field of 13 scholars (five linguists, one antiquarian and seven archaeologists) who appeared to have held the key to the issue, with each having carried out a specific positive or negative role that enabled the Uralic theory to become the dominant view.

Some might dispute the selection of these 13 scholars and propose others as having had an equal or greater role. The study acknowledges that other scholars may also have played important individual roles. However, the selection of these scholars was based on four key factors. In the case of the linguists, their selections were based on the prominence of their performances in arguing for or against the linguistic elements of the Uralic theory. The antiquarian gave the Uralic theory the *type-style* artefacts it needed to begin its material culture association. For the archaeologists, the determining factor was either that their reporting appeared to have been favoured by others with a high level of influence in the matter or that they had sufficient influence in their own right to be able to impress their views on others. While the fourth factor, which applied in varying degrees to all the scholars in the study, was the nature of their personal biographies that centred around an association with one or more of three influential institutions of the period in Hungary – the Habsburg Imperial Court, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The Selected Scholars

For each of the 13 selected scholars, a biographic profile was compiled using all accessible sources. Emphasis was given to those associations that may have played a role in the development of their views on Magyar ethnogenesis or the Uralic theory in particular. The results were then mapped using the SSMA technique outlined in Chapter 1, with a view to identifying the 'hubs' of potential influence and the strength of that influence on the scholars' lives and views. As the literature in some instances only inferred an influence, an element of predictive profiling was also necessary (that is, making reasonable deductions about potential views from previous recorded behaviour). This chapter presents those biographic profiles and their accompanying *social stratigraphic maps*, with linkages based on both post-diction records and predictive inferences, together with further commentary derived from analysis of each map. In later chapters, the *influence hubs* derived from that analysis are further discussed in this same manner and the scholars involved with them are then aligned with any claims of ethnicity made within the reporting of the six case study artefact assemblages.

As noted in Chapter 1, the Uralic theory began as a linguistic theory associating the Magyar language with various languages labelled as Finno-Ugric. The linguistic theory was first considered in the Seventeenth Century by scholars such as the Finn philologist, Georg Stjernhjelm (1598–1672) and the German physician and philologist, Martinus Fogelius (1634—1675), who each deduced some language affinities between the Finnish and Magyar languages (György Lakó, 1973: 179; Tiborc Fazekas, 2001: 1151). In the early—mid Eighteenth Century, a Hungarian scholar József Torkos (1710—1791), a Lutheran priest in the town of Győr, also examined these affinities (Torkos, 1746, 1748; Gábor Vékony, 2002: 16). However, his work seems largely to have been overlooked in later Hungarian scholarship on the subject and his texts were unable to be sourced. It was only in the late Eighteenth Century that the origins of the Magyar language were more formally researched, and an affinity asserted between Magyar and first, Saami (the Lapp language) by another priest and astronomer, János Sajnovics, and then, Finnish, by a lawyer, Sámuel Gyarmathi. Almost half a century then passed from the time of Gyarmathi's publication, before the issue of Magyar origins acquired more widespread attention within the Magyar Kingdom and the application of the principles of comparative linguistics to the Magyar language became a topic of greater discussion and disagreement between scholars in Hungary. Prominent among those scholars were the librarians, Pál Hunfalvy and Josef Budenz, the latter also lecturing on the topic at the university in Budapest, and a lecturer on Middle Eastern studies, Ármin Vámbéry, who proposed a Turkic affinity with Magyar.

The first two (Hunfalvy and Budenz) further researched and developed an affinity between the Magyar language and languages spoken by small groups of people still residing in the Uralian Steppes region. Budenz in particular took a very public approach, writing in the national press on the supremacy of the view of a Finno-Ugric linguistic affinity over any other theories offered at the time, including possible Sumerian or Turkic affinities (Pusztay, 1977: 94—102). Ármin Vámbéry, on the other hand, advocated his view of a Turkic origin for the Magyar language, and a vitriolic debate was waged in the press and journals of the day between Budenz and Vámbéry, which became known as the Ugric-Turkic War. That debate brought the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis to the attention and curiosity of a much wider audience in the Kingdom than would have been possible through the more limited circulation of local academic journals. Along the way, friendships between scholars in the two camps were made and lost, and some careers flourished, while others were destroyed (see Pusztay, 1977: 92—107, for an outline of the argument and its main protagonists). After a time, supporters of the Finno-Ugric linguistic view had gained much ground in the debate and an exhausted and disheartened Vámbéry retreated (Pusztay, 1977: 105).

From the mid-Nineteenth Century, artefacts discovered in the Carpathian Basin were beginning to be publicly associated with the ancient Conquest-era Magyars and a type-style for ethnically identifying such finds was being formulated. Key among the scholars involved with the early reporting of such finds, who provided the artefactual evidence for Magyar ethnic identification, were an antiquarian, Miklós Jankowich, who published the first such claims, and six archaeologists, the first of whom was a lawyer and then the first professional archaeologist in Hungary, János Érdy. He was followed by: Count Ferenc Pulszky (lawyer, politician and museum director); József Hampel (lawyer and typologist); András Jósa (medical doctor and part-time archaeologist); Flóris Rómer (priest and museum director); Tivadar Lehoczky (lawyer and government official); and Géza Nagy (professional archaeologist).

Following in the footsteps of an explorer in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, Antal Reguly, who made some linguistic connections between ethnic groups in the Ural Steppes region and the Magyars (published later by Hunfalvy), explorations were undertaken in that region by Zichy and others, and the Finno-Ugric linguistic theory acquired its geographic component, transforming thereby into the Uralic theory of Magyar origins. Thereafter, the Uralic theory quickly became entrenched, as school students were taught about their Finno-Ugric language and its Uralic origins, as the definitive history of the Magyars, rather than as one theory among several possibilities (Pusztay, 1977: 31—73).

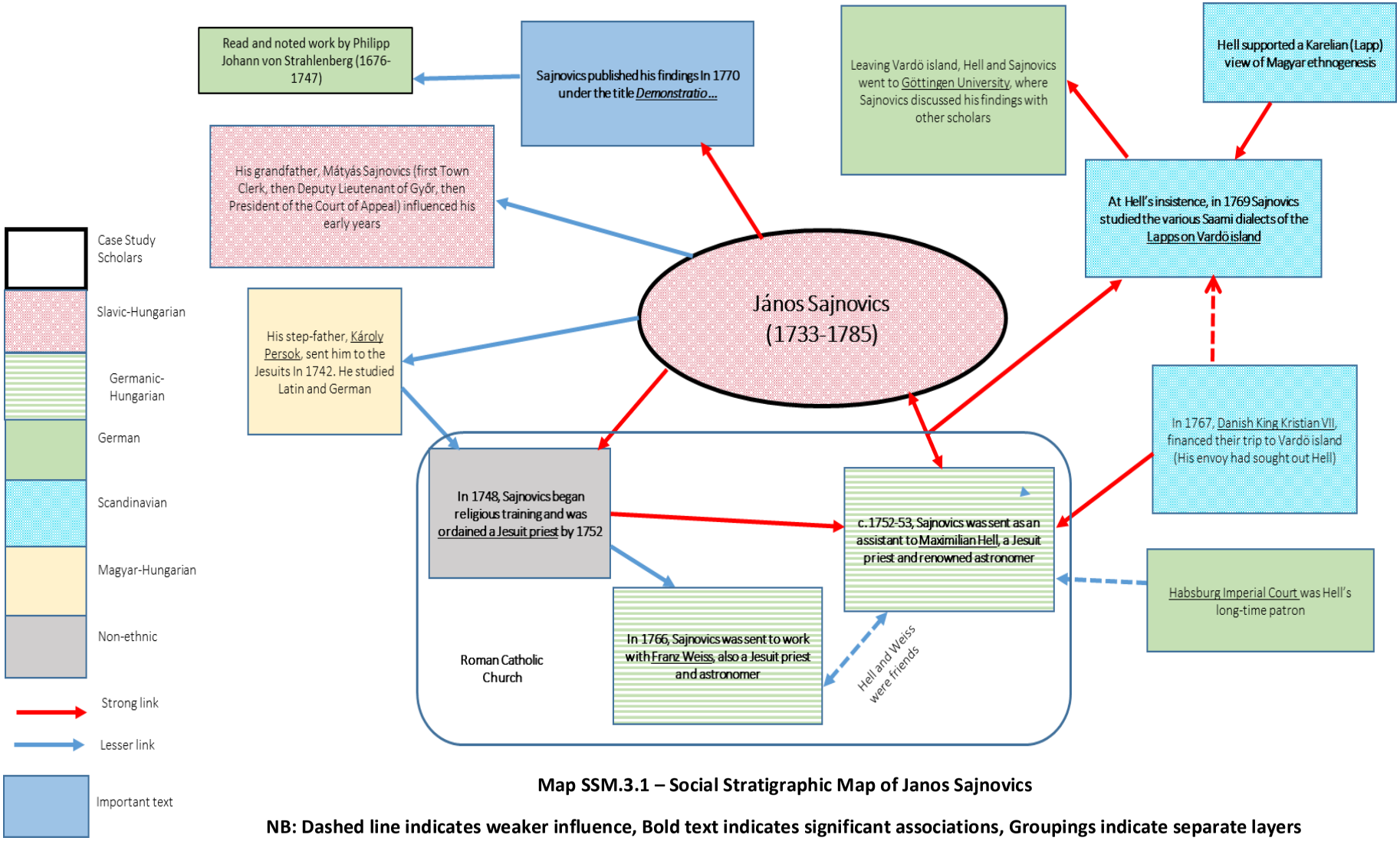
The Linguists

As the Uralic theory began as a linguistic theory, it is appropriate to begin this examination of the key scholars by outlining the lives and associations of the five key linguists noted above, who were either instrumental in the Uralic theory's initial formulation or played major roles in its subsequent promotion to dominant status.

János Sajnovics Tordasi és Kálózi (1733—1785) (Profile Map: SSM.3.1.)

The first of the five linguists, in chronological order, was János Sajnovics Tordasi és Kálózi. A biography on Sajnovics by Hungarian historian György Lakó noted that Sajnovics was born into a wealthy noble family on 12th May 1733 in the village of Tordas, Fejér County - the son of József and Erzsébet Sajnovics (Lakó, 1973: 12—13). His paternal grandfather, Mátyás Sajnovics, had held the prominent positions of Town Clerk and Deputy-Lieutenant of Győr, before being appointed to the Presidency of the Court of Appeal (Lakó, 1973: 13). János was only nine years old when his father died and his mother, left with the prospect of raising her children alone, remarried to Károly Persok (Lakó, 1973: 13). Persok sent János to be schooled by the Jesuits, first in Győr and later in Buda, where he studied the natural sciences, mathematics, astronomy, Latin and German (Lakó, 1973: 13). At 15, János entered the Jesuit order, where he thrived in the calm, quiet and studious atmosphere (Lakó, 1973: 14). For the first two years he worked at Trencsén, before moving to Nagyszombat in 1751, where he studied Philosophy before moving briefly to Pozsony (today, Bratislava, Slovakia) (Lakó, 1973: 15). Soon after that, he was sent to college in Vienna to study theology, but then pursued his interest in mathematics and astronomy, the latter being a strong traditional area of study and work for the Jesuits in Europe (Lakó, 1973: 15). The Jesuit order soon recognised his work in that field and he was placed as assistant to the astronomer, Maximillian (Miksa) Hell, who was working under the patronage of the Viennese Court (Lakó, 1973: 15). Under Hell's guidance, Sajnovics' career blossomed, and he was appointed in 1766 as *Socius Praefectus* to the Astronomy Institute in Nagyszombat to work under the mathematician and astronomer Franz Weiss (Lakó, 1973: 16).

In 1767, an envoy of the Danish king Kristian VII, sought out Hell to lead a royally-financed expedition to Vardö Island in Norway, to observe an important astronomical event the following year – the transit of Venus across the Sun. Hell agreed, but with some conditions, among which one was that Sajnovics should accompany him.



Map SSM.3.1 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Janos Sajnovics

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

Aware that some linguists had claimed a relation between the Lapp and Magyar languages, but lacking expertise in either language[43] were unable to make a strong case for it, Hell was eager to know more and charged Sajnovics with exploring the issue further in-country (Lakó, 1973: 23, 61). On 28th April 1768, Hell and Sajnovics set off from Vienna, traversing Prague, Dresden, Lipcsen and Hamburg, to arrive in the Baltic port of Lübeckig (Lakó, 1973: 23), where they boarded a ship and travelled via Haffnia (today, Copenhagen) and Helsingor to reach Vardö Island (Lakó, 1973: 24—25). They remained on Vardö for two months (Lakó, 1973: 36), making their observations. Encouraged by Hell, Sajnovics contacted several Lapp groups and began developing his own interest in their Saami language and its phonic similarities to his Magyar tongue (Lakó, 1973: 37—59). Becoming exposed to several Lapp dialects, he chose to concentrate on those dialects with words most sounding to him like Magyar (Lakó, 1973: 37—59).

Leaving Vardö, the two men stopped in Göttingen on their way home and visited the Vice-Rector of the University, Georg Ludwig Böhmer (1715—1797), the lecturer on statistics, history and the law Gottfried Achenwall (1719—1772), and the mathematician Abraham Gotthelf Kästner (1719—1800) (János Guyla, 1993: 1288). They also met with astronomers who had participated in the Vardö Island expedition and discussed, among other things, the linguistic activities conducted by Sajnovics in Lapland (Guyla, 1993: 1288). Once back in Hungary, Sajnovics continued his research on Magyar-Lapp affinities and in 1770 published his treatise *Demonstratio Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum Idem Esse* (commonly abbreviated to *Demonstratio*). His Latin text was translated in its early days into Danish, Finnish, German and English, but not into Magyar. At that time, German, and for some, French, were the preferred conversational languages of the Hungarian elite, while Magyar was generally only spoken by the *common folk* in Hungary until it replaced Latin as the official national language in 1844[44] (see Chapter 2). Consequently, at the time of his publication, only those among the elite with a particular interest in the origins of the Magyar language and who could read any of those other languages or Latin would have made the effort to read *Demonstratio*. Thus, his theory received little attention initially within Hungary where, in a society keen to be seen as more advanced and culturally superior to other European states, the Lapps were regarded as a 'fish-smelling'

[43] Lakó noted that, among those earlier scholars who had considered the matter of an affinity between Magyar and Scandinavian languages were: Olof Rudbeck Jnr (1660-1740), Johan Ihre (1797-1780), Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676-1747), Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-1793), Gerhard Schöning (1722-1780), Marcus Wöldike (1699-1750) and Paul Egede (1708-1789) (Lakó, 1973: 69, 169). Lakó commented that Sajnovics had sourced some of their material when compiling his text but was not specific about which texts were included (Lakó, 1973: 23, 61). Sajnovics' (1779) own text was not explicit on this.

[44] The push within Hungary towards magyar-isation of the people through *újitás* [in English, 'renewal'] of the Magyar language was still more than a half-century away.

(Pusztay, 1977: 93) unsophisticated people and an undesirable connection. The last few years of his life were not indicated in the literature, but Lakó recorded his death in 1785 (Lakó, 1973: 237). Sajnovics' *Demonstratio* text was translated for the first time into Magyar in 1994, only then making it available for consumption by a wider Hungarian audience (Lakó, 1973: 37—59).

Having based much of his text on Sajnovics' personal diary, Hungarian linguist, János Guyla, derived from it also that Sajnovics had read the texts of Swedish geographer, Philip Johan Tabbert von Strahlenberg (1676–1747) on an Uralian connection with the Magyars, but had chosen to support Hell's view of a Karelian[45] connection (Guyla, 1993: 1288—1289). While Sajnovics recorded having discussed linguistics with the scholars at Göttingen, Guyla also concluded that he had not met Augustus Ludwig von Schlözer, the University's professor of politics and linguistics enthusiast (Guyla, 1993: 1288—1289), who would later play a major role in the work of Sámuel Gyarmathi, the next scholar in this study. Furthermore, Guyla surmised that Sajnovics could not have even guessed that Gyarmathi's name would become joined to his own in the history of science (Guyla, 1993: 1289).

The credit that Sajnovics most likely would have felt to be his due at the time, did not even come to Sajnovics in Gyarmathi's day. It took almost another century for the recognition to come to Sajnovics of his contribution to the identification of Magyar's linguistic family. Although Lakó published his biography of Sajnovics in 1973, in which he asserted Sajnovics' role as a founder of modern Finno-Ugric studies on affinity with the Magyar language, it was only after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, when many ethnicities began asserting their historical and ethnogenetic places in the Eurasian landscape and brought about the end of the USSR, that Sajnovics' views began to attract more general attention in Hungary.

Comment

While Sajnovics is now attributed with that founding role, the literature showed clearly that Hell's contribution to Sajnovics' place in linguistic history should not be underestimated. His role in the matter was considerable. Hell's influence with the Jesuit order and the Danish monarch, in allowing Sajnovics to accompany him to Vardö, not only provided Sajnovics with the physical opportunity and financial wherewithal to conduct his research, but his interest in Magyar linguistic origins also provided the direction in which that research should proceed.

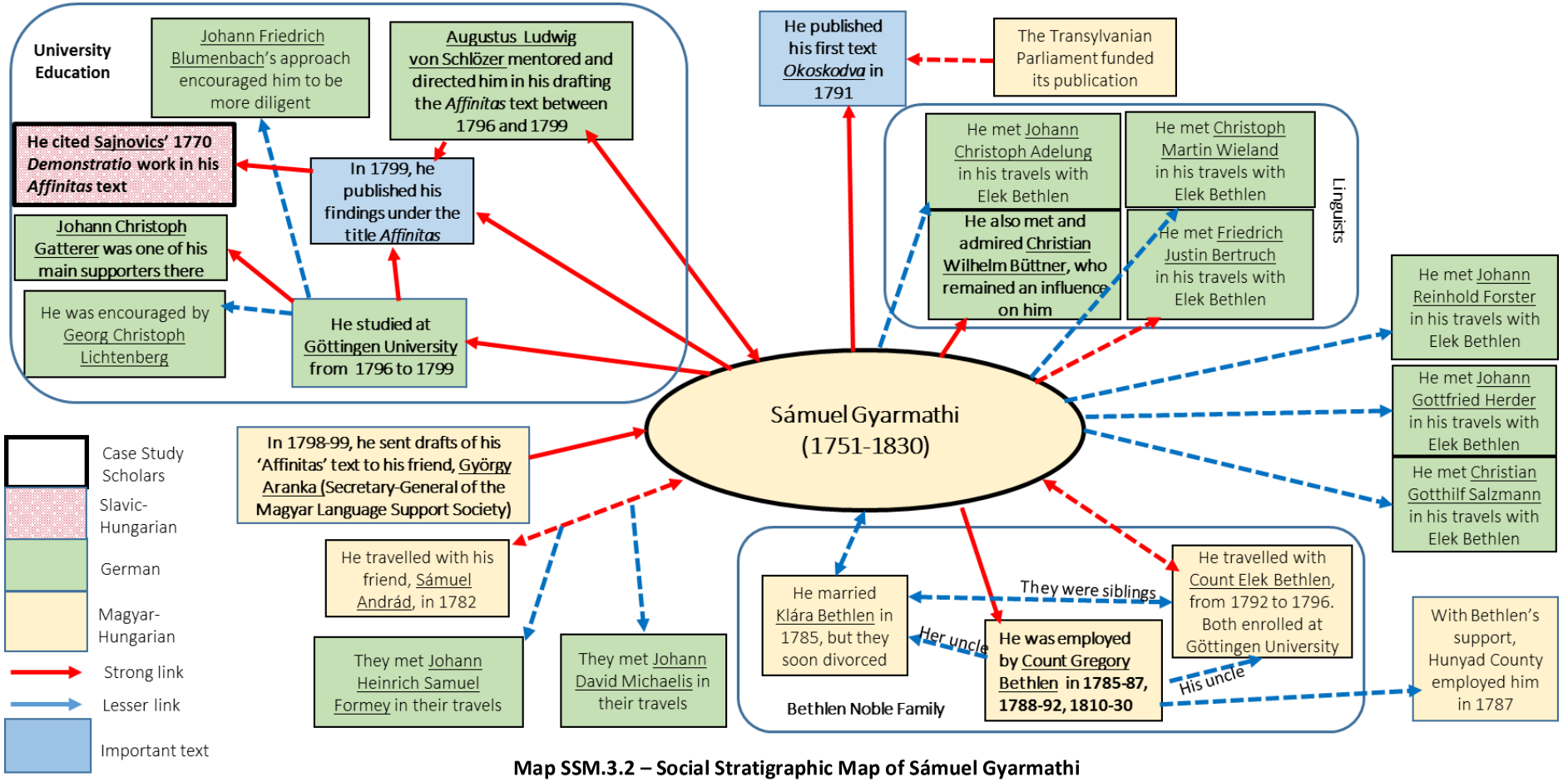
[45] Karelian is a Finnic language, with its speakers situated in northern Scandinavia and Russia. For more on Karelian, see Paul et al, 2015: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*.

Sámuel Gyarmathi (1751—1830) (Profile Map: SSM.3.2.)

The second linguist chronologically, Sámuel Gyarmathi, was born on 17th July 1751 to János Gyarmathi and Eva Osváth in Kolozsvár (today Cluj-Napoca, Romania) (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). The Gyarmathis were a Calvinist, middle-class family of "quite limited wealth" (Hanzeli, 1983: xii). At six years of age, Sámuel began school in Kolozsvár. At age 12, he was sent to school in Nagy-Enyed, but soon went back to Kolozsvár where, in 1766, he completed studies in Rhetoric, before returning to Nagy-Enyed to complete his secondary education over the next three years (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). Receiving a full scholarship in 1769, Gyarmathi commenced his higher education at the College of Aiud and seven years later, graduated with high honours (Hanzeli, 1983: xiii; Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). He then moved to Vienna and undertook a degree in Medicine, becoming an alumnus of the Goldberg college (Hanzeli, 1983: xiii; Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). The 200 Forint required for his membership of the college were paid by the Transylvanian Chancellery (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky).

Awarded his medical degree in 1782, Gyarmathi travelled to Germany with his friend Sámuel Andrád (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Guyla, 1993: 1289) and the two men visited the country's most notable cities, travelling about often on foot. In Berlin, they became acquainted with the philosophical views of Johann Heinrich Samuel Formey (1711—1797), historiographer and Secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). While in Göttingen, they met with Johan David Michaelis (1717—1791), a scriptural researcher and editor of the influential paper, *Göttingen Gelehrten Anzeigen* [in English, Göttingen Scholarly Announcements] (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). But then, his funds dwindling, Gyarmathi was forced to return to Hungary, where he took a position in Pozsony as tutor to the sons of Gedeon Ráday (a poet, translator and politician) (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). In Horpács, Gyarmathi located his friend József Hajnóczi,[46] who was working in the library of Count Ferencz Széchenyi and introduced Gyarmathi to the Count (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). When the first edition of the Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Hírmondót* [in English, Hungarian Messenger], was published in Pozsony in 1780, Gyarmathi was among its writers, later covering the Emperor's 1784 assumption of the Hungarian Crown in Vienna (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky).

[46] Hajnóczi later became a leader of the Jacobine conspiracy, for which he was captured and decapitated in Buda in 1795 (Hanzeli, 1983: xii-xiii).



Map SSM.3.2 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Sámuel Gyarmathi

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

Later that year he moved to Pest and assisted with running the fledgling Pest and Buda Theatre (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). The following year, Gyarmathi married Klára Bethlen (a daughter of Baron Pál Bethlen and Baroness Krisztina Kemény) and they had a daughter, but the marriage soon ended (Imre Lukinich, 1927: 533—535).

Around that time, Gyarmathi began work as court doctor to Klára's uncle, Count Gergely Bethlen, and by 1787 had become the chief doctor of Hunyad County, settling in the town of Dévan (Ótto Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 17). Hungarian historian István Horvát noted that it was at Dévan that Gyarmathi began writing about linguistics (Horvát, 1913: 112–116). 1788 saw Gyarmathi return to Count Bethlen's court, with a pension of 400 Forint per annum (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 17). Three years later, he published his first linguistics text - *Okoskodva Tanító Magyar Nyelvmester* [in English, Hungarian Grammar Taught Rationally] - the quality of which was regarded so highly that the Transylvanian Diet appropriated public funds to pay for its publication (Hanzeli, 1983: xiv).

Four years further on, Gyarmathi travelled for a second time to Germany in the company of his friend and former-brother-in-law, Count Elek Bethlen (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Lukinich, 1927: 533—535). In Germany, the two men met several linguists, including Christian Wilhelm Büttner (1706—1801) in Jena, Christoph Martin Wieland (1732—1813) in Weimar, and Johann Christoph Adelung (1732—1806), who was also the Elector of Saxony's chief librarian (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 28—29, 42; Hanzeli, 1983: xvi). The naturalist, Johann Reinhold Forster (1719—1798), the philosopher and theologian, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and the education reformer, Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744—1811) were others they met (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Hanzeli, 1983: xvi; Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 28—29, 42).

In Germany also, the two friends[47] enrolled to study at the University of Göttingen in April 1796, where they were exposed to the writings and lectures of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724—1804) and the *Enlightenment* movement (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 32), and where Gyarmathi's life took a major turn. Since the preparation of his text *Okoskodva...* five years earlier, Gyarmathi had retained his interest in linguistics and, over the two years at Göttingen University, he studied languages – Swedish, Danish, Russian and English (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). In the vibrant and progressive atmosphere of the university, Gyarmathi made many contacts who afforded him much mentoring and encouragement, among them the naturalist

[47] For more on Elek Bethlen's time in Göttingen, see: Szinnyei (1893a: Baán-Bzenszki); Mindszenti Nagy (1944).

and mineralogist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752—1840) and the mathematician and physicist Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742—1799) (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 38 fn 111)[48]. Notably, Blumenbach and Lichtenberg both supported the Finno-Ugric view of Magyar linguistic affinity (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 41). However, three figures appear to have had the most impact on Gyarmathi in those years and beyond.

Two of these three were at Göttingen University when he arrived - Augustus Ludwig von Schlözer (1735—1809), mentioned earlier (Miklós Zsirai, 2002: 61—63); and Johann Christoph Gatterer (1727—1799), Director of the School of History (Zsirai, 2002: 61—63). From Gatterer, Gyarmathi received much support and encouragement and the opportunity to pursue his work unimpeded (Zsirai, 2002: 61—63). However, it was Schlözer who had the most influence on Gyarmathi's research and ideas. While Schlözer's main role at the university was as Chair of Politics and the university's expert on the history of the northern peoples and the Russian Empire, he also pursued other interests with passion (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 28—29, 42; Hanzeli, 1983: xvi; Zsirai, 2002: 61—63). Among those interests, he regarded as incontrovertible the Finno-Ugric relationship between the Magyars and the Finns and impressed on Gyarmathi this direction to take in his research, also giving him access to his personal library, beyond the university's already vast collection. In particular, Schlözer recommended the Vogul and Osztyak parts of the *Siberian* dictionary written in 1720 by the German historian and translator Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697—1771) – a text that Gyarmathi then used extensively as a reference in his own writing (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 28—29, 42; Hanzeli, 1983: xvi; Zsirai, 2002: 61—63).

Having previously supported the *Orientalist*[49] view of Magyar ethnogenesis, on arrival at Göttingen, Gyarmathi's initial intention had been to refute Schlözer's perceptions of a Finno-Ugric ancestry for the Magyars. Eventually though, Gyarmathi yielded before the pressure of Schlözer's sophisticated reasoning and friendship and relinquished his former point of view (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 28—29, 42; Guyla, 1993: 1288—1289). Then, having done so, Gyarmathi went even further and took up the challenge of further developing and scientifically proving Schlözer's ideas, by collating the Finno-Ugric languages into one comparative text. According to his notes, Gyarmathi did this with the conviction that with this 'proof' he could

[48] For more on Gyarmathi's correspondences with other scholars in Göttingen, see Bálint Csűry (1929: 258-262).

[49] The *Orientalist* view of Magyar ethnogenesis placed the ancient Magyars further South than their position in the Uralic view, that is, somewhere in the region between the Euphrates Delta and the northern part of the Black Sea. The theory, with various locational options, was one of two popular views in Hungary to that time, the other being a close kinship with the Huns. In the mid-late Nineteenth Century, a range of theories were raised for the origin of the Magyars, with further theories proposed in the Twentieth Century. All, except the Uralic theory, have been dismissed within Hungary as 'romantic' (Júlia Bartha, 2010: pers. comm). (For summaries of the alternative theories on Magyar ethnogenesis and their supporters, see Marshall, 2008 Vol. 2: Tables A3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, pp. 234-239).

recover the supposed skewed beliefs of Hungarian linguists at home, many of whom still supported the Orientalist view at the time (Hanzeli, 1983: xiii—vi; Guyla, 1993: 1288—1289). In a letter to Gyarmathi dated 19th November 1797, Schlözer described Gyarmathi's new passion for the Finno-Ugric view as "like himself 41 years earlier, when he was undertaking a dissertation in Uppsala with Johann Ihre [1707—1780] and became convinced of the Finno-Ugric view" (Guyla, 1993: 1289). Nagy later quotes an excerpt from the diary in which Gyarmathi advocates travel abroad "for shedding the errors of his nation through intercourse with foreigners" (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 11). In addition to language instruction, Schlözer offered Gyarmathi much advice and guidance in his research and encouraged his contact with other like-minded scholars (Mindszenti Nagy: 1944: 47—50).

The third significant influence on Gyarmathi during that time was his friendship with Christian Wilhelm Büttner, whom he had met in Jena in 1795 and with whom he had remained in frequent personal and written contact (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky; Csúry, 1929: 258—262; Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 39). Büttner inspired Gyarmathi (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). However, cautioned by another colleague, the philologist Friedrich Justin Bertruch (1747—1822) regarding Büttner's dilatory nature, Gyarmathi was motivated to work with purpose to complete his own research (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 41, 46—47). Gyarmathi sent drafts of his writing, together with news of his activities, to his long-time friend back in Hungary, György Aranka (1737—1817), Secretary-General of the *Magyar Nyelvmivelő Társaság* [in English, Magyar Language Support Society] (Csúry, 1929: 258—262; Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 17—36, 51). Before finalising his text, Gyarmathi also sent Schlözer a draft for his comments. Schlözer returned the draft with added notes, including advice to change the word 'Lapp' to 'Finn' in the title and text of his final draft, together with notes for an Appendix 3, both of which Gyarmathi then incorporated into the final document (Guyla, 1993: 1289).

Published in Göttingen in 1799 by Johan Dietrich Keresztély, the final text was given the very long title: *Affinitas linguae hungaricae cum linguis fennicae originis grammatice demonstrata. Nec non vocabularia dialectorum tataricarum et slavicarum cum hungarica comparata*[50] (commonly abbreviated to *Affinitas*). The text dealt with the similarities between the Magyar and Finno-Ugric languages, especially the Finn language. In the *Foreword* Gyarmathi acknowledged the earlier efforts of Sajnovics, as noted previously, and that he had built upon that earlier research in order to derive his own conclusion that instead of an affinity with Saami,

[50] In English: 'Proof of the Origin of the Letters and Grammar of the Hungarian Language. Hungarian Terminology is not a Dialect of Tartar or Slav' (translation by Author).

the Magyar language had closer connections with the Finnish language (Gyarmathi, 1799). Hailed by the Göttingen science community that had encouraged and assisted his work, Gyarmathi was elected to membership of their society with Schlözer's support.[51] However, the publication of *Affinitas* received widespread domestic incomprehension, dilettantism and prejudice[52] in Hungary – attitudes that it could not extinguish (Lakó, 1980: 27).

Leaving Göttingen, Gyarmathi then travelled briefly to Denmark and diairised that journey before returning to Hungary, where he resumed work as a doctor, tutor and writer, developed an interest in minerals and metallurgy (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky) and continued to correspond with Schlözer (Mindszenti Nagy, 1944: 51—69; Hanzeli, 1983: xiv—xx). In 1810, Gyarmathi retreated to Count Gergely Bethlen's estate in Bun, where he worked as a doctor while continuing to write about languages (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky). He published his final major text in 1816, a dictionary titled *Vocabularium in quo plurima hungaricis vocibus consona variarum linguarum vocabula collegit* [in English, The Terminology of the Hungarian Language in which most Harmonious Terms of Various Languages are Collected], which used word lists to compare Magyar with 57 other languages.

Gyarmathi died on 4th March 1830 in Kolozsvár, leaving his entire library and 800 silver Forint to the Grammar School in Zilah (now Zalău, Romania) (Szinnyei, 1896c: Gaál-Gyürky).

Comment

Gyarmathi's willingness to make Schlözer's recommended changes in *Affinitas* from a conclusion of Lapp affinity to a conclusion of Finn affinity for Magyar, in spite of his own research which he also claimed as having built on Sajnovics' earlier work, indicated a strong influence by Schlözer over Gyarmathi. The impact of that influence was an important and long-lasting contribution to scholarship on the linguistic origins of the Magyars – a contribution that laid the foundation for the work of the two key Nineteenth-century developers and promoters of the *Uralic theory*, whose biographic profiles and maps follow.

[51] Over time, *Affinitas* became accepted as the definitive work on the Magyar language and set the foundation for work in that field by other linguists, such as the German, Jósef Budenz (see the section on Budenz later) and later supporters of his views, such as Munkácsi (1895).

[52] According to Lakó (1980: 27), in the minds of the Hungarian public there were deeper roots and a wide-spread belief that the Magyar language was related to the Turkish language. This belief was demonstrated for example in Georgii Pray's text: *Annales Veteres Hunnorum, Avarum et Hungarorum* (published in 1761); in Ferenc Ádám Kollár's views, published by Miklós Oláh (*Hungaria*, 1763) and arguably by Pál Nagy Beregszászi (*Comparatio lingual Turcicae cum Hungarica*, 1794), among others.

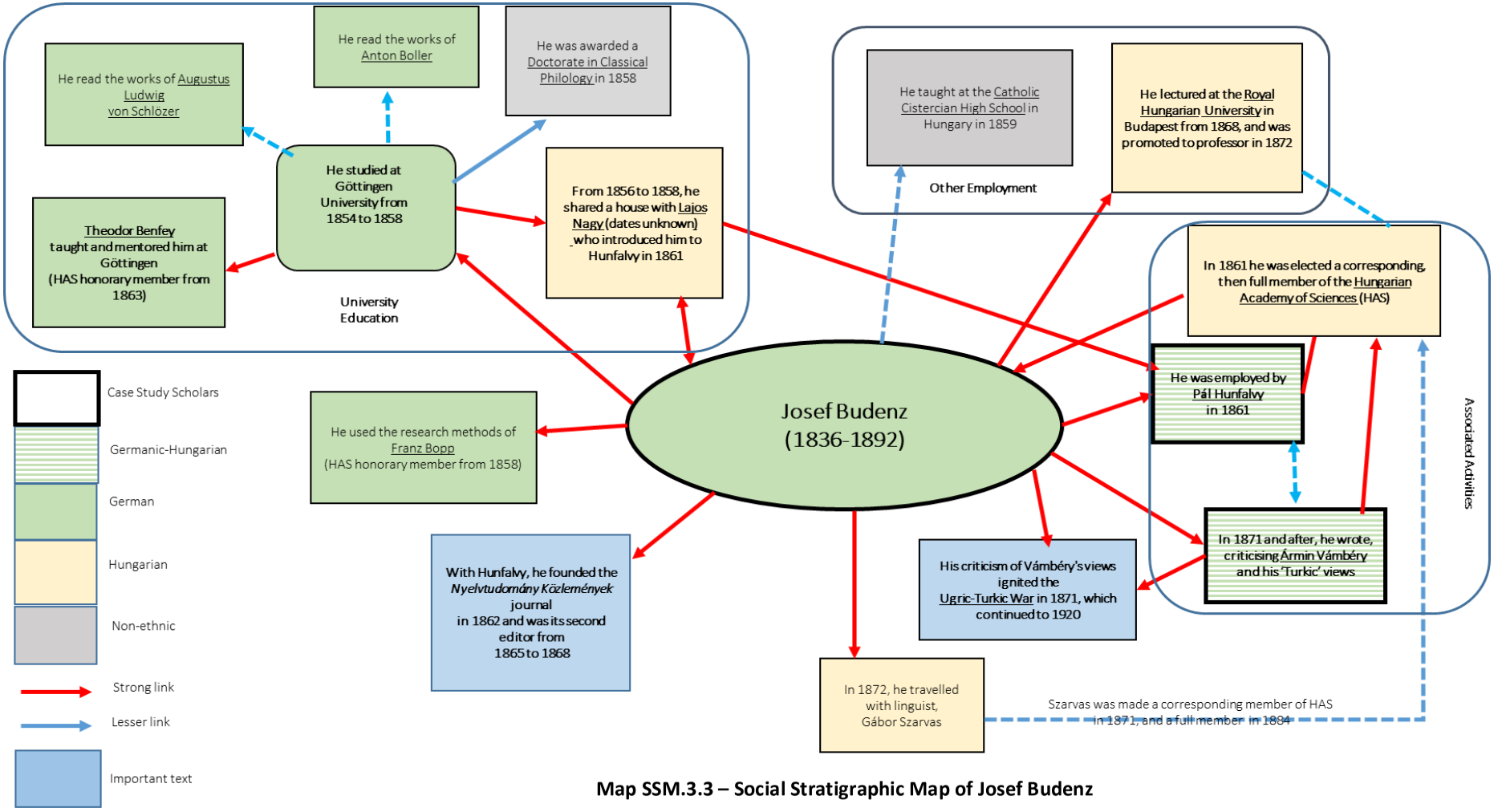
Josef Budenz (1836—1892) (Profile: SSM.3.3)

Born in Rasdorf, Germany, on 13th June 1836, Josef Budenz was a talented school student, who learnt some Latin and Greek in his home village, where his father, Balthasar, was a teacher (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22). At 18 years of age, the young Budenz enrolled in Marburg University, but only remained for a year, before moving to Göttingen University to continue his studies in classical philology, Indo-German (Indo-European) linguistics, and its Orientalist connections (Lakó, 1980: 11, 13). At Göttingen, he also studied Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Turkish and Magyar (Lakó, 1980: 13). Among his lecturers at Göttingen, his greatest influence was Thomas Benfey (1809—1881), whose area of research expertise was in Sanskrit and eastern mythology (Lakó, 1980: 11, 13, 19—22).

Some years earlier, in 1844, the historian, ethnographer and linguist Ferencz Kállay (1790—1861), had criticised the lack of progress in Magyar comparative linguistics at the time, noting that: "now we are there, where Sajnovics' and Gyarmathi's work placed us...the question has not progressed further, in fact since then, since Sajnovics wrote, 70, and since Gyarmathi's time 40 years have passed" (Kállay, 1844: 7; Lakó, 1980: 25—26). Budenz's attitude would change that situation. While at Göttingen, his reading material included the works of Schlözer and Anton Boller (1811—1869) (Lakó, 1980: 24—25). Boller was a linguist, who had researched the similarities between the Magyar, Ugric, Turkic and Mongolian languages (Boller, 1853a & b, 1854, 1855, 1856). According to Lakó, Boller was able to determine accurately the Magyar language's place in the Finno-Ugric language family and clarify various aspects of the sound correspondences in those languages (Lakó, 1980: 25).

With his interest piqued by those scholars' texts, Budenz initially studied a connection between Magyar and Turkish, but then moved to associating Magyar with languages found in the Ural-Altai region because, again according to Lakó, he felt that it was not adequately being studied (Lakó, 1980: 15). Whether that view was his actual and only motivation at the time is not known. However, his actions later in life clearly indicate his passion for the Finno-Ugric view of Magyar linguistic origins.

In 1856, Budenz met Lajos Nagy, a Unitarian theologian and high school teacher from Kolozsvár (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22; Lakó, 1980: 14), who was also studying at Göttingen. The two men then shared a house and Nagy taught him the Magyar language (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22). They remained friends afterwards (Lakó, 1980: 16).



Map SSM.3.3 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Josef Budenz

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, groupings indicate separate layers

In 1858, at only 22 years of age, Budenz was awarded his doctorate in classical philology (Lakó, 1980: 11, 13). Looking to his future, he then travelled to Hungary by ship, arriving there on 16th May 1858 (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22; Lakó, 1980: 16). Lakó further noted that Budenz's decision to go to Hungary was motivated, on the one hand, by the desire to practice and improve his Magyar language skills and, on the other, by his interest in science (Lakó, 1980: 16). For the next year, Budenz worked as an assistant teacher in the Cistercian Catholic High School at Székesfehérvár, in the country's West, where he taught Latin, German and Greek (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22; Lakó, 1980: 16). Two years later, through Lajos Nagy, Budenz received and accepted an invitation from Pál Hunfalvy, the Head of the Library Department at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, to travel to Budapest and take up a post as his assistant (Lakó, 1980: 16). This was the beginning of both a professional relationship and a personal friendship between Budenz and Hunfalvy that lasted until Hunfalvy's death in 1891 and impacted on both men's lives and attitudes.

As they worked together, managing the library and carrying out their research, they wrote articles and books on the interwoven subjects of the origins of the Magyar language and of the people who spoke it (Budenz, 1861, 1861-1862, 1866, 1870, 1873a & b, 1873–1881, 1875, 1879, 1880, 1883-1884, 1884, 1886[53]; Hunfalvy, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1881[54]). Over time, and with Hunfalvy's support, Budenz became the most recognised advocate for the Finno-Ugric theory of Magyar linguistic origins, publishing several major works on the subject (Budenz, 1873—1881, 1879, 1880, 1886; Lakó, 1980: 31).

Also with Hunfalvy's backing, in 1868 Budenz was appointed to an associate professorship in Magyar-Ugrian comparative linguistics at Budapest University and in 1872 was promoted to professor and awarded the post of Chair of Altaic Comparative Linguistics (Lakó, 1980: 18). In his new role, Budenz progressed his own research, borrowing the test method for his research from the methods used by "the esteemed founder of Indo-European comparative linguistics, Franz Bopp" (Lakó, 1980: 21), though the two scholars apparently never met in person. In 1872, in an effort to further his research, Budenz travelled with Gábor Szarvas to Turkey and Finland (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22).

[53] Also, edited in 1865-1868, the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* [Linguistics Announcements] journal; co-wrote with Imre Halász, in 1883, the text *Zürjén Nyelvmutatványok* [Zyryan Language Attractions]; and with Gábor Szarvas, in 1876, a paper titled: Vélemény a magyar helyesírás javításáról [Opinion on the Correction of Hungarian Spelling].

[54] Also, edited in 1862-1865, the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* journal; and co-wrote with Budenz in 1875 the text *Jelentések I. Az Orientalistáknak Londonban 1874-ben tartott Nemzetközi Gyuléséről, II. A Németországi Philologok és Tanférfiak 1874-ben Innsbrucken Tartott Gyüléséről* [The Reports of the Orientalists at the International Meeting No. 2 in London in 1874, The German Philologists and Professors at the Meeting held in Innsbruck].

In addition to his formal employment, Budenz enjoyed membership of many professional associations during his career. In 1861, while still working at the library with Hunfalvy, Budenz was invited to become a Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Glatz, 2003: 'B'). Ten years later, he was elected as a Full member (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22; Glatz, 2003: 'B'). He was also a member of the Helsingfors Finnish Literary Society and the Dorpat Estonian Science Society, a Corresponding member of the St Petersburg Science Academy, and an Honorary member of the Parisian Philological Society (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22).

Budenz published many articles and several books promoting his pro-Finno-Ugric view (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22). In the 'Foreword' to his manual *Finn Nyelvtan* (in English, Finnish Linguistics), Budenz wrote: "the Finnish and Magyar languages' sentence structures essentially are the same" (Budenz, 1880: iv). In one instance, Budenz wrote: "I initially only became aware of the nature of the Magyar language; but while the study of such a language stuck irresistibly in my mind, the learning of the language was not considered for a time, with so many different experiences to be had before then...For this reason I changed my direction to researching its beauty [and] to commit to it until I die"[55] (Budenz, 1861-1862: 158, translation by Author; Bernát Munkácsi, 1895: 8; Lakó, 1980: 14—15).

His strong views about the place of the Magyars in the Ugric arm of the Finno-Ugric language family brought him into conflict with another scholar, the self-taught linguist and Turkic-connection advocate Ármin Vámbéry.[56] The scholarly debate that triggered the conflict had begun some years earlier, with Budenz publishing a contradiction of the *Târîkh-i Üngürûsz* chronicle that had claimed a Turkic-association with the Magyars, and which he asserted was the basis for Vámbéry's view (Budenz 1861: 261-292). However, the debate exploded in 1869 with the publication of an article by Vámbéry in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, in which he (Vámbéry, 1869 Vol.8: 161—189) proposed word reconciliations with which Budenz took great exception and then determined he had to further debunk Vámbéry's claims (Pusztay, 1977: 94). Perhaps also grating to Budenz and to Hunfalvy was that the article appeared in the same journal

[55] Original text: "…lett vala akkor a magyar nyelv mivoltával első ismerkedésem; de ez ellenállhatatlanul ragadá kedvemet egy olyan nyelv megtanulására, melylyel a nyelvtudásnak egy addig nem sejtett, annyi különös jelenségekkel meglepő világa tárúl vala ki előttem, ezer változatos irányain a nyomozónak kutatónak] akár holtig való gyönyörködetet igérgetve."

[56] Vámbéry wrote articles supporting the Turkic connection and opposed Budenz's Finno-Ugric view of Magyar origins. Budenz published a response to Vámbéry's opposing argument (Budenz, 1886, Treatise – "Egy Kis Viszhang, Vámbéry Ármin Úr Válaszára, Vagyis a Magyarok Eredete és a Finnugor Nyelvészet" ["A Little Echo, Response to Mr Ármin Vámbéry, or Rather the Hungarians' Origin and Finno-Ugrian Linguistics"], Part. II., *Értekezések* [Treatises], Vol. 13, No. 7).

they had founded only seven years earlier and had only just ceased editing (see also 'Hunfalvy' later). According to Pusztay, initially the Hungarian public sympathised with Vámbéry's assertions and demonstrations of a more cultured Turkish-Hungarian relationship rather than the "oily fish brethren" noted earlier and presented to them in Budenz and Hunfalvy's Finno-Ugric claims (Pusztay, 1977: 93). Over the next half-century, various other scholars[57] also took sides in the increasingly vitriolic debate, which the Hungarian newspapers dubbed the *Ugor-Török Hárború* [in English, Ugric-Turkic War] (Pusztay, 1977: 93—94).

Budenz's articles in particular heavily criticised Vámbéry's etymologies, as well as his perceived inadequate linguistic qualifications in the Turkic and Finno-Ugrian languages, areas in which Budenz had focussed his attention since his studies first began (Pusztay, 1977: 96). As the debate raged, Budenz's reputation grew - so much so that, in 1884, he received royal recognition of his 25 years of research and publishing in comparative linguistics when he was appointed as a Councillor of the university (Szinnyei, 1896a: Baán-Bzenszki, 1923: 14—22).

Budenz died in 1892 and was buried in Budapest's Kerepesi Cemetery (Varga, 2015: kerepesi/k). However, the legacy of his strong views continued after his death as the linguistic 'War' continued to rage, with Budenz's successors persisting and eventually claiming victory for the Finno-Ugric view only c.1920, after Vámbéry had also died (Thury, 1884: 131—158, 295—311, 416—440, 1885: 186—199, 265—281; Markos, 1916, 1918; Pusztay, 1977:106).

As Krompecher (1937: 1-12) pointed out, even in his own day Budenz did not work alone and his contribution to the issue of Magyar ethnogenetic determination was as one of three 'big names' in Hungarian history – the other two being his contemporaries, Pál Hunfalvy and Antal Reguly (see later in this Chapter for Hunfalvy's role and Reguly's contribution to it). In undertaking the research for this study it became evident that, whilst none of the biographic writings reviewed on Budenz and his work actually stated it, three elements came to together for Budenz to cement his place in the history of comparative linguistics and its role in the acceptance of a Finno-Ugric Uralian ethnogenesis for the Magyars. The first was Budenz's own desire to devote his life to studying the etymology of a language that was only spoken in Hungary - a country that was not his own and which was populated by a people who had been ruled and oppressed by foreign invaders (the Turks and the Austrian Habsburgs) for several centuries. Those same people had only very recently fought a failed Revolution (1848—49) to rid themselves of the latest of those foreign rulers, the Austrian Emperor Franz Josef I (reigned 1848—1916) and did

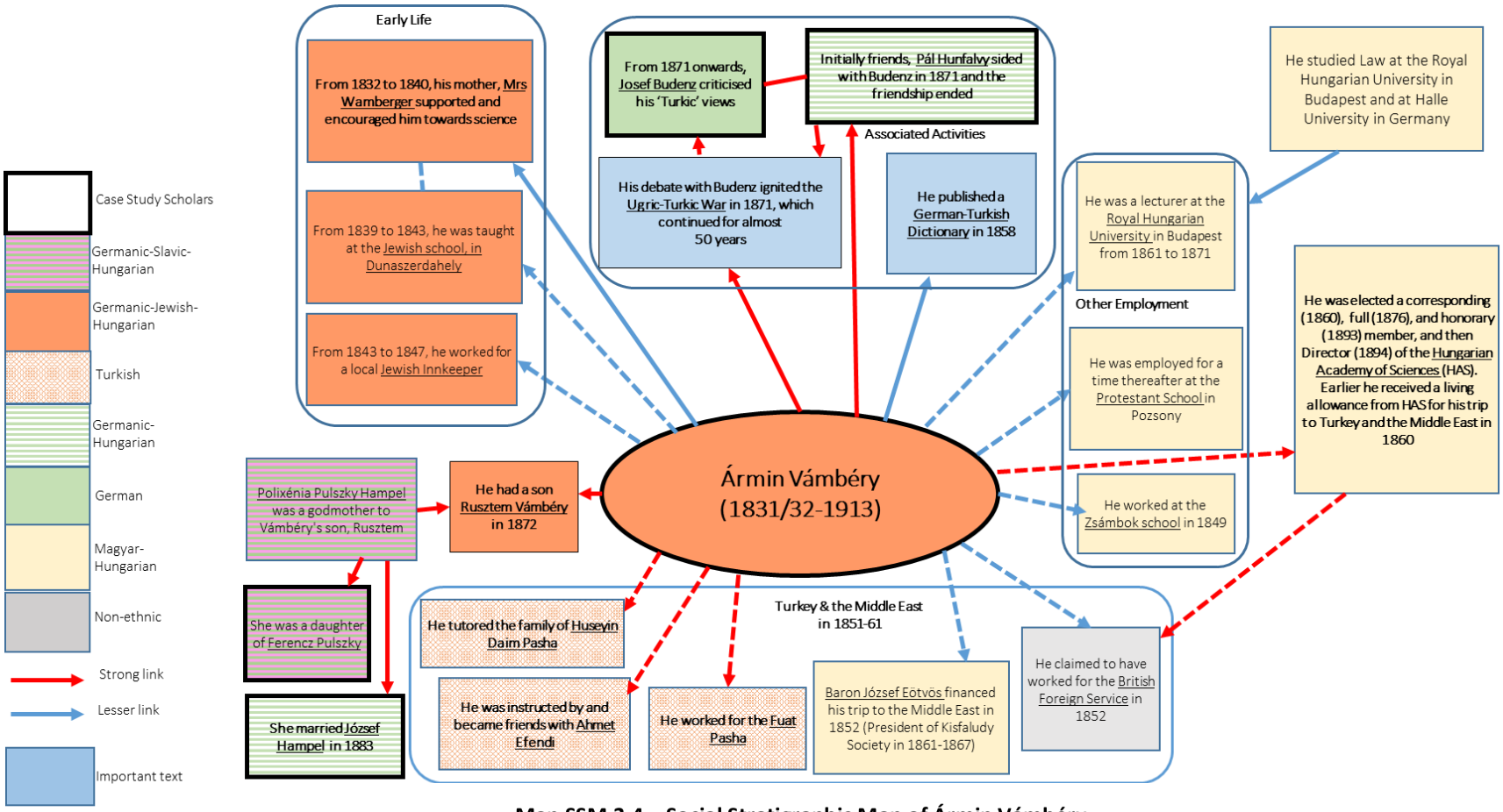
[57] For a chronology of the various key articles from both camps, see Pusztay (1977: 97-98.)

not favour foreigners telling them what to think, placing Budenz at an initial disadvantage which he had to overcome. His friendship with Lajos Nagy greatly assisted with that, as he learnt to speak Magyar from Nagy who then recommended him to his friend, Hunfalvy. The second was Budenz's then close collaboration with his supervisor at the library and greatest advocate, Pál Hunfalvy, which served to bring this *külföldi* [in English, foreigner] into the fold and be accepted first by the Hungarian academic community and, later, after his death, by the broader Hungarian population. While Budenz's published etymologies provided the detail for his 'scientific' comparative linguistic approach, his personal attachment to Hunfalvy, who was already highly-regarded in Hungary, enabled Budenz to overcome any local prejudice against his 'German-ness' and acquire the influential positions he then gained and used in Hungarian academia. The third was the nationalist push within Hungary itself following the failed Revolution, that fostered and promoted the search for a national 'Magyar' identity that would clearly distinguish Hungarians from the 'German' focus of the Austrian Habsburg Imperial Court, and enable Hungarians to claim an equal place within the empire. Although not universally accepted by all Hungarians at the time, some of whom still craved independence, that view of equal 'partnership' was the outcome sought by the 'moderate' politician, Ferencz Deák, in negotiating the *Compromise* of 1867 (see Chapters 2 and 4; and Arnold-Forster, 1880).

Ármin Vámbéry (1831/32—1913) (Profile: SSM.3.4)

Ármin Vámbéry (nee Wamberger or Bamberger[58]) was born around 1831/1832, the exact date being uncertain, in the town of Szentgyörgy, Hungary (now Svätý Jur, Slovakia), the son of a poor Jewish rabbi and his young wife (Vámbéry, 1905: 4—5). His father died when Vámbéry was only an infant and his mother moved the family to Dunaszerdahely (now Dunajská Streda, Slovakia), where he attended the local school until the age of 12 (Vámbéry, 1905: 4, 6). A paralysis of his left leg necessitated that he walk with crutches and his mother took him fruitlessly to various doctors to fix the problem (Vámbéry, 1905: 6—7). The young Ármin began his education in what he described as a 'third-rate' local Jewish school, where he studied Hebrew and the Bible (Vámbéry, 1905: 9). He described his time there as "not really learning anything other than Moses...and the books of the Bible [and] being perfectly at home in the writings of the prophets" (Vámbéry, 1905: 9).

[58] Vámbéry's original family name was either Bamberger or Wamberger. In his autobiography, Vámbéry notes that his great-grandfather had come from Bamberg, Germany, and registered his name as Bamberger, when the Jews were required to do so under Austrian Emperor Joseph II's reign. However, his father pronounced it 'softly' as Wamberger. He explained that the family name was not used very often as, according to Orthodox Jewish custom, a boy's name was predicated by his father's name, but the family name was only used for official matters in Hungary (Vámbéry, 1905: 4).



Map SSM.3.4 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Ármin Vámbéry

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

Nevertheless, he proved to be an accomplished student, encouraged by his mother whose own father was a scientist (Vámbéry, 1905: 9). Vámbéry noted that his mother had decided that she would forge her son into a world-famous scientist and expert on the Talmud (Vámbéry, 1905: 10). However, the family's strained financial circumstances forced him to leave school at 11 years of age and take on work in another town (Vámbéry, 1905: 12—13). Becoming a tutor to the Jewish innkeeper's son, Vámbéry found himself used also as a domestic servant in the house (Vámbéry, 1905: 13). Disgruntled at the long hours, his friends then helped him to enrol in the *Szentgyörgy Untergymnazium* [in English, St George Lower Secondary School] to complete his own studies (Vámbéry, 1905: 19—20). At 15, he received treatment that enabled him to walk more easily, although still with a limp, increasing his self-confidence to leave Szentgyörgy and move to Pozsony to study (Vámbéry, 1905: 20).

In 1848, at the start of the Revolution, Vámbéry recorded that schools in Pozsony were closed and there were riots and traffic chaos, pillaging of Jewish houses and persecution of Jews (Vámbéry, 1905: 26). Consequently, he returned to the relative calm of Dunaszerdahely to continue his studies (Vámbéry, 1905: 26).

The following year he moved back to Pozsony, taking a teaching position at a Protestant school for a small wage (Vámbéry, 1905: 27), until he witnessed a large contingent of Russian troops march through the city.[59] Unhappy with the situation in Pozsony, Vámbéry relocated again, this time to the village of Zsámbok, Nyítravár County (today, Žabokreky, Slovakia), where he took another teaching position with full-board and an annual salary of 150 Forint – an amount he described as 'small, but adequate' (Vámbéry, 1905: 28).[60]

Then, attracted to the culture of the Ottoman Empire, at 20 years of age and with financial backing from Baron József Eötvös (1813—1871), Vámbéry travelled to Turkey and became a tutor to the family of Huseyin Daim Pasha (Vámbéry, 1905). There, influenced by his friend and instructor, Ahmet Efendi, Vámbéry became a full Osmanli,[61] and served as secretary to Mehmed Fuad Pasha (1814—1869) (Vámbéry, 1905). In 1858, Vámbéry published a German-Turkish dictionary, which was followed by several works on linguistics and the acquisition of more than

[59] In 1849, the Austrian Emperor sought and received Russia's military assistance to quell the Kossuth-led rebellion in Hungary, which Hungarians call the *Szabadságharc* [in English, War of Independence].
[60] For more on Vámbéry's life as a young teacher and his travels to the East, see Vámbéry, A. 1905, *Küzdelmeim* (in English, *My Struggles*), Franklin-Társulat Magyar Irodalmi Intézet és Könyvnyomda, Budapest, Chapters 3-16.
[61] 'Osmanli' is defined by *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1964) as a "Turkish native word for which Ottoman is the usual English form" (see Fowler & Fowler, 1964: 858 'osier-other'). The word apparently derives from the name of the leader and founder of the Ottoman dynasty, Osman Gazi (Unknown-1323/4). Presumably, in the sense used for Vámbéry it was meant as a compliment.

20 Turkish languages and dialects (Vámbéry, 1905). On the strength of this work, he was elected as a Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. At the time also, he maintained a close friendship with Pál Hunfalvy (see 'Hunfalvy' section below for more on this.)

In 1861, Vámbéry travelled back to Hungary and the Academy granted him a living allowance of 1000 Florin (Vámbéry, 1905). He used those funds to travel in the disguise of a Sunni dervish back to Constantinople, taking a circuitous route from Trebizond through Tehran, Mecca, Tabriz, Zanjan and Kazvin, Ispahan and Shiraz, and arriving in Khiva in June 1863 (Vámbéry, 1905). During those travels he purportedly worked as an agent for the British Foreign Service (Vámbéry, 1905), while consolidating his knowledge of the local languages and dialects and sending articles back to the Academy in Budapest for publication. Vámbéry's travels and research led him to the conclusion that the Magyar language had more affinity with the Turkic group of languages than with other languages, such as the Finno-Ugric tongues, which later manifested in his 1869 publication of an article titled: "Magyar és Török-Tatár Szóegyeztetések" [in English, Magyar and Turkic-Tartar Word Reconciliations] (Vámbéry, 1869: 161-189).

On return to Hungary in 1852, Vámbéry continued his research and publishing while teaching at the Budapest University, as well as achieving four positions progressively with the Academy (Glatz, 2003: V). Having been appointed a Corresponding member in 1860, he was made a Full member 16 years later, which gave him voting rights and greater prestige (Glatz, 2003: V). In 1893, he was awarded Honorary member status and the following year was appointed as a Director (Glatz, 2003: V).

In 1895, Vámbéry wrote: "The Magyars who arrived at the end of the Ninth Century belonged purely to the Turkic group, and the current situation of the Hungarian language having significant Finno-Ugrian elements can be considered to have occurred only at a later period" (Vámbéry, 1895: 74). On this and related topics, he published many articles and several key texts throughout his career (Vámbéry, 1869, 1882, 1885a & b, 1895, 1905, and posthumously 1914). He further claimed that: "The Magyar people's development within...the Ural-Altaic race, began...during the reigns of the Huns and the Avars...of which, in the Avarian period, the Magyar tribe developed and emerged [and that] For the Ugrians the migration to Pannonia...took place under Turkish hegemony, under Attila...in the Fifth and Sixth centuries." (Vámbéry, 1895: 102, 135).

Vámbéry died in 1913 aged 82, having not yet seen the end of the Ugric-Turkic War in which he had engaged to the end as a strong opponent of the Uralic theory's linguistic component.

Comment

As his autobiography *Küzdelmeim* (1905) attests, Vámbéry's early life was governed largely by his poverty-stricken Jewish-ness, coupled with his physical disability and his mother's desires for his future. Overcoming his disadvantages, both real and perceptual, appears to have been the driving force in his later life – his linguistics skills and academic studies being the vehicle for achieving that ambition, rather than an end in themselves. His strident published arguments with Budenz regarding the linguistic origin of the Magyar language, gave Vámbéry much needed publicity for his texts and the opportunity to achieve the desired fame that his mother had roused in him from a young age. His Honorary member status and later Directorship of the Academy, despite his limited formal education, attests to his skill and perseverance in the face of his adversities.

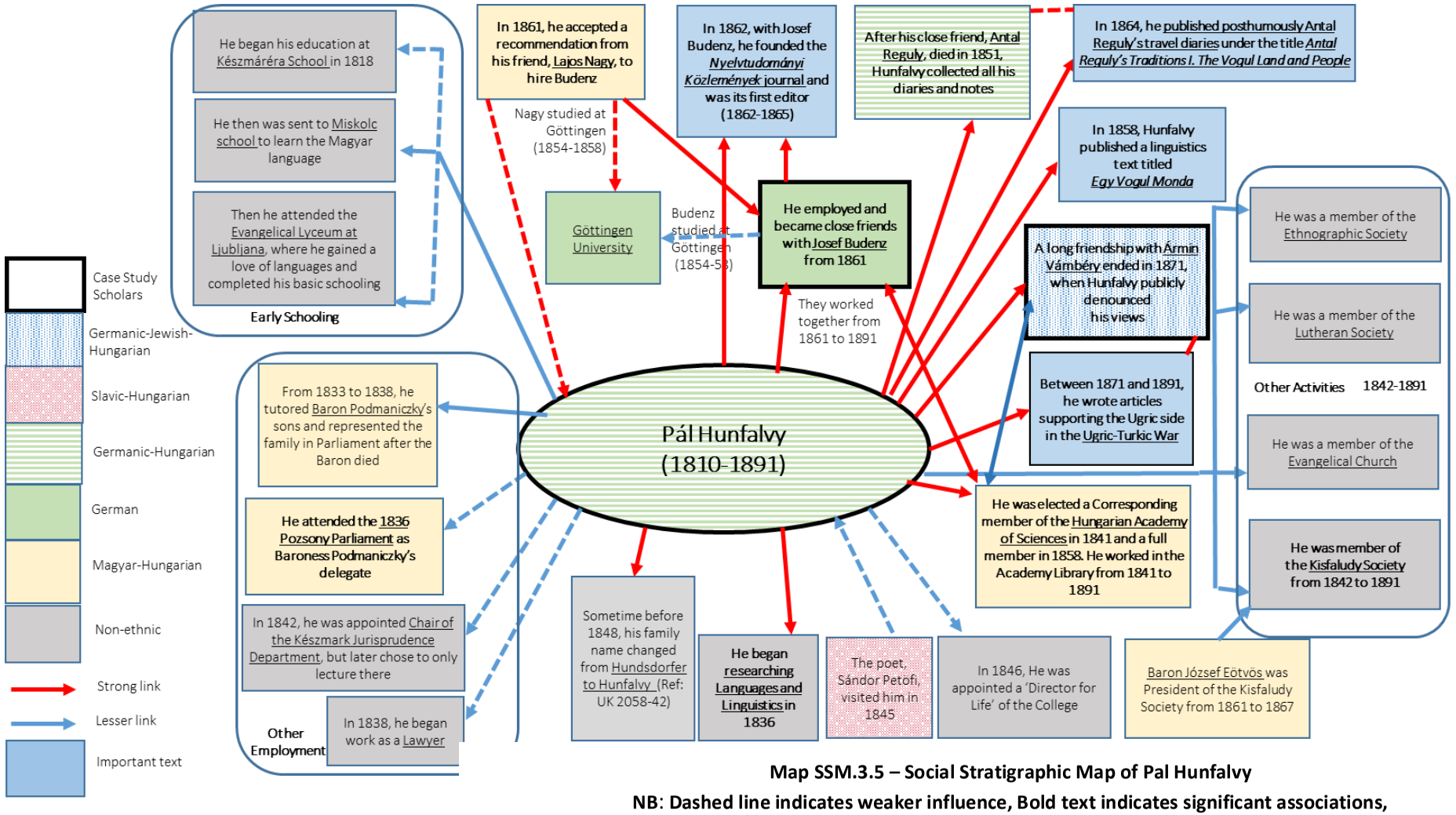
Pál Hunfalvy (1810—1891) (Profile: SSM.3.5)

Pál Hunfalvy was born Paul Hundsdorfer in Nagy-Szakólon, Szépes County Hungary on 12th March 1810 of ethnic-German parents (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). It is not known when his family name changed to Hunfalvy, although it was common for ethnic-Germans in Hungary in the Nineteenth Century and into the early Twentieth Century to 'Magyar-ise' their names.[62] His publications, all of which appeared in print after the 1848—49 Revolution, bear the Hunfalvy name.

Aged eight years, in 1818 Pál was sent to school in Készmáréra, where he completed four years of grammar school and won an award for his French syntax (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). According to Szinnyei, at the time the young Hunfalvy was totally unfamiliar with the Magyar language (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). To overcome that gap in his education, he was sent to Miskolc, where he studied rhetoric, and then onto the Lyceum[63] at Ljubljana (now in Slovenia) to study philosophy (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

[62] The book *Századunk Névváltoztatásal* [in English, Name Changes in our Century] published in 1895, lists thousands of name changes between 1800 and 1893 - mostly from German to Magyar, but also from some other ethnicities. The 'Hunfalvi-Hundsdorfer' change is listed there as no. UK 2058-42 but without a date (MHGT, 1895; 107 'Hunfalvi').

[63] Vasilij Melik noted that the Jesuits established the Lyceum at Ljubljana to teach philosophy and theology, and that a 'lyceum', in the 18th and 19th centuries, was "the name for all higher schools that were not universities" (Melik, 2013: "The Predecessors and the beginnings of the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana").



Map SSM.3.5 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Pal Hunfalvy

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

At the Lyceum, Hunfalvy's teacher was a Mr. Németh, who previously had taught the two Counts Dessewffy[64] and was well-versed in the Greek language and Hellenistic literary masterpieces (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Németh apparently encouraged a love of languages in his students, including Hunfalvy (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

Aged 19, Hunfalvy returned to Készmáréra to complete his studies in philosophy, jurisprudence and theology, and to study the Greek, Hebrew and Arabic languages (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). During that time, he improved his Magyar language skills through reading about the life and travels of Count István Széchenyi (see Chapter 3)[65] and the poetry of Dániel Berzsényi (1776—1836), Sándor Kisfaludy (1772—1844) and Ferencz Kölcsey (1790—1838) (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

In 1833, Hunfalvy was invited to live in Baron Károly Podmaniczky's Bistrizza castle[66] to tutor his sons, Frederick and Herman (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). In that role, Hunfalvy earned the family's trust and subsequently was sent to the Pozsony Diet of 1832—1836 as the delegate (*absentium legatus*) of the by-then widowed, Baroness Podmaniczky (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). With Frederick and Herman spending the majority of 1836 in Dresden, Hunfalvy had time to pursue his other interests (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Two years later, he began to work as a lawyer, while devoting much of his spare time to writing letters and advancing his passion for languages and linguistics (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

Over the next five years, Hunfalvy's focus moved into comparative linguistics and researching the connections between various languages, with a particular focus on the Magyar language and its affinities with other languages in the region (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). His research pointed him in the direction of the newly-identified Finno-Ugric languages that his young friend Antal Reguly[67] had collected during his travels to the Uralian Steppes region of Russia. Hunfalvy became convinced that the Magyar language had some connection with those other languages

[64] The Dessewffy de Csernek et Tarkeő family were an influential, hereditary noble family in Hungary, whose members in the Nineteenth Century included the politicians Count Emil Dessewffy (1814-1866) and his son, Count Aurél Dessewffy (1846-1928). The elder Dessewffy was also the President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences from 1855 to 1866, while the younger served as a judge (1917-1918) and as an Academy Board member for a time (Szinnyei, 1893b: Dabóczi-Dzsugán; Jónás & Villám, 2002: 233–236).

[65] Among his many writings, Széchenyi wrote that: "The enthusiasm of the Magyars could be elevated to a degree, if they learnt the national language, and with this gave meaning to their lives and struggles." (Széchenyi, 1821: 191 in Attila Környei, 1998: 131).

[66] The Podmaniczky castle, called Bistrizza (or variously as Bystrica, Považský hrad, Hrad Bystrica, Bystrický hrad, Bestruche castrum) is a medieval castle on the right side of the river Váh, near Považská Bystrica in Slovakia, and today lies in ruins. It is famously known as the 'eagles nest' of the Podmaniczky noble family, although it has had several owners in its history (Marek Turošik, 2014).

[67] By the time of his death in1858, Reguly had managed to publish only a small part of his findings from his travels under the title: *A dzungár nép és annak a magyarral állított fajrokonsága* (in English, The Dzungar People and their Claimed Relationship with the Magyars) (Reguly, 1850).

and, when Reguly died prematurely from complications arising from his travels, Hunfalvy took on the task and posthumously published Reguly's diaries of that journey (Hunfalvy, 1864). The text was titled: *Reguly Antal Hagyományai I. A Vogul Föld és Nép'* [in English, Antal Reguly's Traditions I. The Vogul Land and People] (Hunfalvy, 1864). [68]

On 3rd September 1841, Hunfalvy was elected to Corresponding membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Glatz, 2003: 'H'), the institution that would play a major role in the rest of his life. A few months later on 22nd January 1842, he was elected as a Full member of the influential Kisfaludy Society[69] and, in that same year, received and accepted an invitation to become Chair of the Készmark Jurisprudence Department, which afforded him the opportunity to teach its law and politics courses (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Delighting in teaching his young students about society and the mechanisms of politics, Hunfalvy wanted to stand down from the Chair's role (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). So he assisted in establishing a new Chair's position, contributing some of his own money to it (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). The new Chair was his younger brother, János, enabling the older Hunfalvy to concentrate on teaching (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

While the rest of the legal fraternity in Hungary at the time were teaching in Latin, Hunfalvy distinguished himself by giving his lectures in Magyar (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). As his reputation grew beyond his immediate surrounds, the popular poet and political activist Sándor Petöfi (1823—1849)[70] visited him in 1845, presumably to discuss the need through the language to promote the 'beauty' of Hungary more broadly among its 'common people'.[71]

At the start of the 1846—47 academic year, Hunfalvy was appointed to the post of Director-for-Life of the College (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). On 15th December 1858, he was elected to Full member status in the Academy of Sciences (Glatz, 2003: 631—632). The following year, he published an article titled *Egy Vogul Monda* [in English, One Vogul Legend] (Hunfalvy, 1859) that, in part, considered the Vogul language and its connection to Magyar.

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[68] Later, several scholars, including Munkácsi (1892), József Pápay (1905) and Zsirai (1944, 1951), also published texts discussing Reguly's life, travels and findings.

[69] The Kisfaludy Society was a literary society created in 1836 in Pest and focussed on developing and promoting Hungarian literature, poetry and folksongs. Several of the scholars to be discussed in Chapter 4 were among its members. Baron József Eötvös was its President for the period 1861-1867, with János Arany a Director at the same time. See Vilmos Fischer (1928) or Lajos Kéky (1936: 104-105) for more on the history, role and membership of the society.

[70] Sándor Petőfi (nee Petrovics) was a poet and a key figure in the 1848—49 Revolution, who published the song, *Nemzeti dal* [in English, National Song) in 1848 (Petöfi, 1848).

[71] Petőfi's poem *Az Alföld* [in English, The Plains], written in July 1844, extols the beauty of the Great Hungarian Plains, which he claimed is greater than the Carpathian Mountains (Petöfi, 1844).

In 1861, on the advice of their mutual friend Lajos Nagy, Hunfalvy invited the young Josef Budenz to become his assistant in the library, where the two became closely collaborating colleagues and firm friends. When the Ugric-Turkic War later flared up in the local newspapers between the Finno-Ugrists and those who supported various other ethnogenetic theories for the Magyars, Hunfalvy sided with Budenz in the highly-charged debate (Hunfalvy, 1872, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1881). That stance led to a permanent rift between Hunfalvy and his long-time friend, Vámbéry, who, as noted earlier, vociferously opposed the Finno-Ugrists' claims in favour of an ethnogenesis based on a greater Turkic linguistic affinity for the Magyars (see 'Budenz' and 'Vámbéry' sections for more on this).

It needs to be remembered here that the matter of linguistic affinity was not just one of different opinions in comparing syntax etc. In the minds of the scholars at the time, the linguistic affinity debate about the Magyar language was tied closely in with the issue of the ethnogenesis of the Magyar people themselves, the two issues being considered inseparable. Two decades later, in 1881, Hunfalvy explicitly stated as much, when he wrote that: "The language is the soul of the nation, consequently the language's history is the nation's history, and vice versa, the nation's history is reflected in its language" (Hunfalvy, 1881: 3). Later in that same text, Hunfalvy firmly placed the Magyar peoples' ethnogenesis with the Ugrian peoples of the Volga-Kama Rivers region, of whom he particularly highlighted the Vogul and Ostyak groups[72] (Hunfalvy, 1881: 10—11).

In 1862, with Budenz, Hunfalvy founded the linguistics journal *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, in which their articles appeared regularly promoting their view of the correct placement of the Magyar language in the Finno-Ugric family, as well as word lists comparing Magyar to a number of Finno-Ugric languages, including Vogul and Ostyak. In his introduction to the journal, Hunfalvy explained the reasons he saw for the new journal to be published, among which he wrote: "It is not the structure of his brain, nor the growth of his hair, nor his skin colour that makes a man, a people, but his language and social life." (Hunfalvy, 1862b: vi). In that period, he also published a text titled *Finn Olvasó-Könyv* [in English, Finnish Reader] in which he closely examined the Finnish language (Hunfalvy, 1861, 1862a)

Between 1865 and 1868, in addition to his Library role and his writings in comparative linguistics, Hunfalvy was a member of the House of Commons, the founder of and diligent participant in

[72] While the linguists in Hunfalvy's time wrote of the Voguls and Ostyaks, those people call themselves 'Mansi' and 'Khanty' respectively (Delegates from the Mansi and Khanty regions at the IFUSCO Conference, Budapest, 2011: personal communication).

the Hungarian Ethnographic Society, president of the Lutheran Society, involved with the affairs of the Evangelical Church, and the Chair of the Upper House in the Diet (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

He was a Corresponding member of several societies: the Finnish Literary Society, the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, the American Philological Society's Philadelphia Chapter, the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences, and the Viennese and Berlin Anthropological Societies (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). He also held Honorary memberships of the Estonian Science Society, the Philological Society of Paris, and the Trinity Historical Society of Dallas, Texas (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Thus, his life was filled with writing, attending and presenting at conferences,[73] and furthering his research.

At 73 years of age, in May 1883, Hunfalvy was appointed to the post of Director of the Library Department at the Academy and made a Councillor of the Academy (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Thus, Hunfalvy's control of the Academy's library and hence the texts that were accepted into it, coupled with his editorship of the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* journal from 1862 to 1865, gave him the power to influence the information available to scholars and the broader community in Hungary at the time. His views on comparative linguistics were published in several major works and numerous articles, both in his own journal and in others, foreign and domestic. As his reputation grew, it can be said his influence also extended. Hunfalvy remained associated with the Academy, pursuing his research until his death in Budapest on 30th November 1891 (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). At his catafalque, Pál Gyulai gave a speech about his life and work with the Academy (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). Three years later, on 17th December 1894, Emil Ponori Thewrewk (1838—1917) also gave a memorial presentation on Hunfalvy at the Academy (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

Comment

While, as noted earlier, Budenz took the more public position in the debate between the Finno-Ugrists and their opponents in the 'Ugric-Turkic War', Hunfalvy's role could be described as the less vocal, but equally important 'facilitator' on the Finno-Ugric side. Having carried out research into the issue even before Budenz, Hunfalvy invited Budenz to work with him as his assistant and together they progressed the language comparisons and argued their case in the press and

[73] In 1875, Hunfalvy shared a publication with Budenz, in which each wrote of a different conference that year at which they had presented papers and their impressions of the other delegates' presentations and arguments (Hunfalvy, P. & J. Budenz, 1875: 3-23).

other public fora of the day. Hunfalvy gave Budenz the facilities he needed to carry out his research and, at the same time, used his influence to advance Budenz's career in Hungarian academia. That, in turn, helped Budenz's views to be taken seriously by the linguistic community within Hungary and beyond. In doing so, Hunfalvy also abandoned his long-term friendship with Vámbéry, Budenz's most vocal opponent.

The Antiquarian

From the Sixteenth Century to the early Eighteenth Century in Europe, the practice of collecting antiquities for personal display or presentation to like-minded individuals, was an undertaking by a few well-to-do individuals of the upper classes foraging, and sometimes excavating, in areas where they had reason to believe worthwhile finds could be made. French archaeologist Alain Schnapp noted that British antiquarians often travelled around the countryside on horseback looking for collectables both for education and pleasure, while those in Central Europe were more prone to excavating and seeking out ethnic associations for their finds (Schnapp, 1993: 154). Referring to an earlier comment by British historian Rosemary Sweet (2004: 3), Díaz-Andreu noted that in the Eighteenth Century "a distinction was drawn between historians, who focused on rhetoric and grand narratives, and antiquarians [who] believed that antiquities could provide new information not contained in the texts written by the classical authors" (Díaz-Andreu, 2007: 2).[74] These early collectors saw their role as preserving the past and focussed their activities on recovering objects that "symbolised a lost, invisible world...which made them different, precious moving, material witnesses of times' physical depth" (Schnapp, 1993: 40), but only to the extent that it suited the purposes of their present.

Thus, artefacts with a potential market value – particularly coins, medals and other items made of precious metals - were collected, stored, gifted, displayed or sold, according to the interests of their collectors or those of their patrons (Sklenář, 1983: 30-31). Czech archaeologist Karel Sklenář noted that the Habsburgs "were the most insatiable collectors in Renaissance and baroque Europe [and that] the collections of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol...and the cabinet of the Emperor Ferdinand I were famous in their time" (Sklenář, 1983: 28). In Hungary, collecting of such artefacts often resulted from accidental discoveries made during earthworks for roads, buildings or other structures, or from following up on local stories about possible treasures or the reputed actions of historical figures in an area (see Chapter 5 for examples). In 1807, the

[74] Space constraints here preclude a detailed history of Eighteenth and Nineteenth century antiquarians and their collecting and display of antiquities. However, for a comprehensive history of antiquarianism in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth centuries in Europe, Britain and Turkey, see Díaz-Andreu (2007: 29-59).

Habsburg Emperor's representative in Hungary, the Palatine Josef, commissioned a memorandum to be prepared by the Hungarian historian Ferdinánd Miller, which specified that "relics, artefacts, coins and *objets d'art* found in Hungarian lands be handed over to the [National Museum]" (Miller, 1807; Paula Zsidi, 2003: 417).

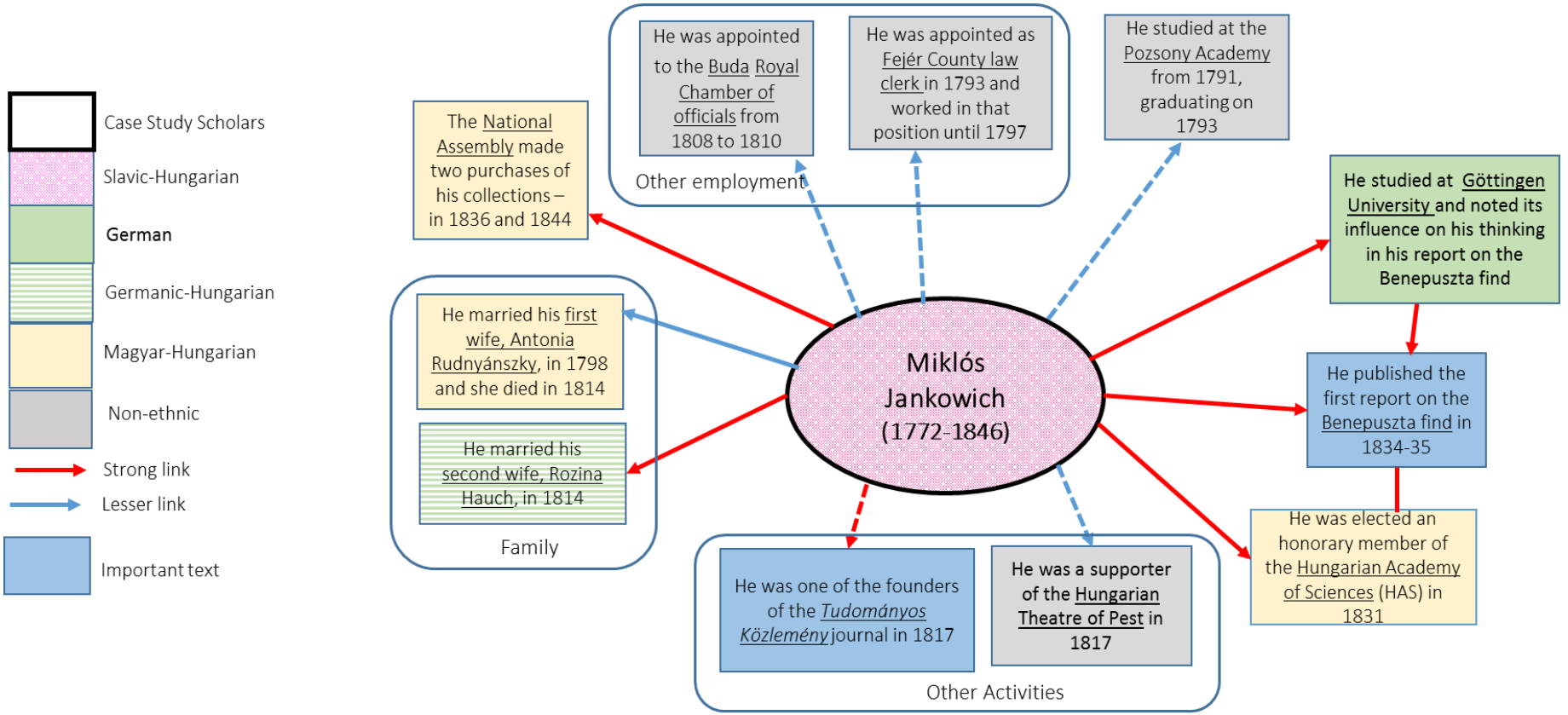
One such instance in 1834 resulted in an assemblage (Benepuszta) being the first one associated with the ancient Magyars of the Conquest Era and being attributed by its reporter to a local legendary figure (Jankowich, 1835). The reporter of that *type-style* assemblage, Miklós Wadassi Jankowich, was a gentleman-farmer and local government official, with a passion for collecting antiquities, ancient manuscripts and codices (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner). By making that connection, his assemblage became the *type-style* for later associations of artefacts with the Conquest-era Magyars in the Carpathian Basin. Over time, artefacts bearing similar stylistic characteristics were also sought by others in regions beyond the Carpathian Basin, with their prime focus on the Uralian Steppes region as a support to the Uralic theory (e.g. the Zichy expeditions noted in Chapter 1). Thus, Jankowich's Benepuszta assemblage provided the first artefactual support for the later-added geographic component of the Uralic theory and his biographical profile is given below.

Miklós Wadassi Jankowich (1772—1846) (Profile: SSM.3.6)

Born in 1772 to a family of landed-gentry, the young Miklós Jankowich (also spelled 'Jankovich') studied history and law at the Pozsony Academy, where he graduated in 1791 (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). In 1793, he was appointed as a law clerk in Fejér County, where he worked until his father's death in 1797 forced the family to relocate to Racalmás and Jankowich to take a change in career direction (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner.; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). At 26, Jankowich married and began managing several farms, while turning his attention towards scientific research and the means by which to broaden opportunities for such work (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799).

A decade later, his efforts saw him appointed to the Buda Royal Chamber of Officials, where he worked for two years until his increasing frustration with administrative work brought about his resignation in 1810 (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799).

Jankowich then became more actively involved in the scientific and cultural life of Pest-Buda (later renamed Budapest) (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799).



Map SSM.3.6 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Miklós Jankowich

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold text indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

However, in 1814, his personal life changed when his first wife died and Jankowich married for a second time (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). His devotion to the development of Hungarian culture and science saw Jankowich increasingly spending his family's capital on the collection of historical publications, artworks and artefacts (Hedvig Belitska-Scholtz, 1985: 7; Miklós Bényei, 1985: 20). He was a founder of the *Tudományos Közlemény* [in English, Scientific Collection] journal, first issue published in Pest-Buda in 1817, and an active supporter of the Hungarian Theatre of Pest (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799).

1832 saw Jankowich awarded Honorary membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences[75] and he was among the first of its membership to be recorded as having an interest in archaeology (Glatz, 2003: 631—632), although, at the time of his induction, archaeology was not yet a discipline in its own right and only formed a small element of the Society's History section.[76] The Benepuszta report, titled in English: "A Magyar Hero – Conceivably the Brave Warrior of Bene – Who Even at the Beginning of the Tenth Century, with Prince Solt, was Present at Emperor Berengar I's Defence of Italy, Regarding his Newly Discovered Corpse and Clothing Ornaments"[77] (Jankowich, 1835), was his first and only comprehensive report on an archaeological find since becoming a member. In addition to his local membership of the Academy, Jankowich also held memberships with the Frankfurt am Main Historical and Archaeological Society and the Archaeological Society of Thuringia, and towards the end of his life he became a patron of the Hungarian National Museum (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner).

While his reputation in the cultural sphere was growing, Jankowich's obsessive collecting of rare books, artefacts and other cultural objects, and his support for scientific research, saw his family's fortunes wane considerably (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner). By the end of the agricultural boom in Hungary of the early Nineteenth Century, Jankowich had expended so much of his family's funds on collecting, that they were in significant financial difficulty (Kenyéres, 1967: 799). To improve the situation, in 1836 he was forced to sell part of his collection to the Hungarian National Assembly for 50,000 Hungarian Pengő Forint (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner). The sale included 63,000 volumes of books,[78] 1,400 codexes, 4,000 diplomas, 12

[75] Then still called the Hungarian Learned Society. The Society only changed its name in 1844 (see Chapter 4).
[76] See Chapter 4 for more on the Academy's membership.
[77] The title in Magyar reads: "Egy Magyar Hősnek, - Hihetőleg Bene Vitéznek, - Ki Még A' Tizedik Század' Elején, Solt Fejedelemmel, I. Berengár Császárnak Diadalmas Védelmében Olaszországban Jelen Volt, Ujdonnan Felfedezett Tetemeiről, 's Öltözetének Ékességeiről" (Jankowich, 1835).
[78] Bényei noted that Jankowich's library was the largest in Hungary at the time. (Bényei 1985: 19).

Parliamentary dossiers, a number of paintings, several coins, jewellery, weapons and some old gold-alloy pieces (Szinnyei, 1897: n.p.; Kenyéres, 1967: 799).

However, Jankowich could not resist collecting and, over time, his obsession again placed his family in a dire financial position, and, with bankruptcy looming, in 1844 his wife petitioned the National Assembly to purchase a second collection (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). The strain of it all affected Jankowich's health and, over the next year and a half, he became terminally ill and died in April 1846, aged 74 years (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). At his funeral, the archaeologist Ferencz Toldy apparently spoke of Jankowich's obsessive collecting and of the 'old man's' understanding of the value of large collections, at a time when his contemporaries may not have had that same understanding (Belitska-Scholtz, 1985: 7). Following his death, his assets were acquired by the State to cover his debts (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799). The collection of rare books and historical documents was presented to the Széchenyi Library and the artefacts were sent to the National Museum (Szinnyei, 1896f: Jablanczy-Jüttner; Kenyéres, 1967: 799; Bényei ,1985: 19). Two years later, the 1848—49 Revolution began and life in Hungary changed. As for Jankowich, Bényei noted that he had been politically conservative throughout his life and the 'new Hungary' of those later years would not have suited his thinking (Bényei, 1985: 20).

Comment

The actual intentions of Jankowich are unknown with regard to the Benepuszta report's very long and detailed title. However, by associating the find with a heroic Magyar, Jankowich's post-diction profile indicated that his goal may have been to attract the attention, and hopefully the favour, of his Society colleagues, many of whom were influential aristocrats and politicians (see Appendix 11) with access to funding sources that Jankowich in his highly-indebted state would have craved to feed his collecting passion. Furthermore, by associating the skeletal remains with a specific figure in local Magyar folklore, the Brave Warrior of Bene, Jankowich may have aspired to capturing a wider audience for his article among the growing number of Hungarian citizens in the Nineteenth Century who were interested in their Magyar heritage. By doing so, he could also have achieved the goal of enhancing his own reputation as a knowledgable and distinguished collector and thereby increasing the value of his collection.

In analysing his profile, the study found that the pursuit of such goals as these provided a viable explanation as to why the Benepuszta report of nearly 16 pages in length, was written in the effusively polite and florid manner customarily reserved in Hungary at the time to formal letter-

writing from a subordinate person to his superior. The effusive politeness of the report's language was publicly criticised in later years by, among others, the nobleman Count Ferencz Aurel Pulszky (see the later section on the archaeologists), who described it as old-fashioned and excessive (Pulszky, 1890: 6). However, at the time of its writing, the measure of success for the report in achieving whatever goals Jankowich did have, can be seen in that the National Museum saw fit to make two acquisitions from his collection, one during his life and the other following his death.

Jankowich's report also had a lasting effect on Hungarian scholarship concerning the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis, evidenced by the repeated references to his descriptions of the deceased and associated artefacts that were found in later reports on other finds and subsequent texts dealing with the artefacts of the Conquest Era. (For examples of these references, see chapter 5 on the Vereb, Galgócz and Bezdéd archaeological finds.)

The Archaeologists

According to Schnapp, archaeology, as a discipline, was constructed on three principles: typology, technology and stratigraphy, the combination of which, in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, provided the scientific foundation that enabled archaeology to free itself from what he described as the "burden of antiquarian tradition" (Schnapp, 1993: 321). Schnapp meant by this that the focus of antiquarians on collecting and describing artefacts (especially precious metals, jewels and ornaments), differed from that of archaeologists who saw all artefacts as having intrinsic heritage value, regardless of composition or function, and that, with the advent of a scientific approach to the excavation and recovery of artefacts, more could be learned about the people who created and used them. Díaz-Andreu noted that the discipline emerged in the Nineteenth Century "and fully matured in the following century" (Díaz-Andreu, 2007: 3). She also noted that "there was no sharp contrast between professional and amateur archaeologists" before the period 1910-1914, with professionalism of the discipline only developing to its full extent after 1945 (Díaz-Andreu, 2007: 3). Díaz-Andreu noted further that formal training to qualify as a professional archaeologist was a feature from only the late Nineteenth Century.

While Hungarian scholars, Sándor Eckhardt (1928: 258-262), and Vékony (2002), have suggested the beginnings of Hungarian archaeology could be traced to the Thirteenth-century chronicler

Simon Kézai[79] and his use of "archaeological data in the reconstruction of past events" (Vékony, 2002: 14-15), as a discipline, archaeology only began in earnest in Hungary in the 1840s. Then, the Hungarian National Museum appointed János Érdy (nee Lutzenbacher) as the country's first professional archaeologist (see later in this chapter). Already then, however, according to archaeologist Gábor Kalla, the study of numismatics was "the first archaeological subject" (Kalla, 2003: 421) being taught by the School of Liberal Arts at the Péter Pázmány University in Budapest – the university having been transferred from Nagyszombat to Budapest under an edict issued by Empress Maria-Theresa in 1777. Seven years later the University was moved to Pest (now Budapest) and the study of classical archaeology became an important part of its curriculum (Kalla, 2003: 421).

Thus, while, as with the rest of Europe, archaeology was not yet a discipline in its own right until the second half of the Nineteenth Century and the scientific research techniques now integral to its practice were yet to be developed, moves in Hungary were already afoot in the Eighteenth Century to separate its study from history and art courses and to introduce greater rigour to the training provided. Those moves were enhanced and strengthened in subsequent decades as successive Acts of Parliament were passed to provide greater protection to the discoveries of artefacts and monumental structures, beginning with a memorandum commissioned by the Emperor's representative, the Palatine Josef, for the 1807 National Assembly (Zsidi, 2003: 417). That memorandum specified that "relics, artefacts, coins and *objets d'art* found in Hungarian lands be handed over to the [National Museum]" (Zsidi, 2003: 417). However, it took several decades and more, stronger, legislation to finally enforce that intention. [80]

During the Nineteenth Century, a growing number of both professional and amateur archaeologists in Hungary were conducting excavations and reporting on finds, as interest in ethnic heritage was spurred by the fervour of nationalism that epitomised the era. In that environment, the six archaeologists of this case study, developed their careers and views on Magyar ethnogenesis. While János Érdy was the first of these chronologically, I begin with Count Ferencz Pulszky, who was arguably the most influential of them for much of his career, with that influence perhaps waning somewhat in the final years before his death.

[79] Kézai's chronicle is discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

[80] Statute 13 of 1949 stipulated that all archaeological objects resting in the ground automatically became state property, while later legislation (Act CXL of 1997, decree 9/1999, Act LXIV of 2001, and decree 18/2001) placed tight controls on the excavation of sites and the handling of the artefacts found, and restricted permission to work on all sites to a limited list of practitioners (Ernyey, 2003: 419-420).

Count Ferencz Aurel Pulszky de Lubócz et Csehfalva (1814—1897) (Profile: SSM.3.7)

Count Ferencz Aurel Pulszky was born into a noble Hungarian family of Polish descent in Eperjes, Sárosvár County, northern Hungary (now Prešov, Slovakia)[81], on 17th September 1814 (Kabdebo, 2003: 1). One of three sons to Count Károly Pulszky Cselfalvi és Lubóczi, his mother was the Count's second wife, Apollónia Fejérváry (Pulszky, 1884: 8).[82] In his early years, Ferencz looked to his mother's brother, Gábor, for inspiration and mentorship (Pulszky, 1884: 12; Ferenczy, 1889: 29). His earliest education was undertaken in Eperjes and Miskolc, with Pulszky noting in his autobiography that he was always first in his class at school (Pulszky, 1884: 13).

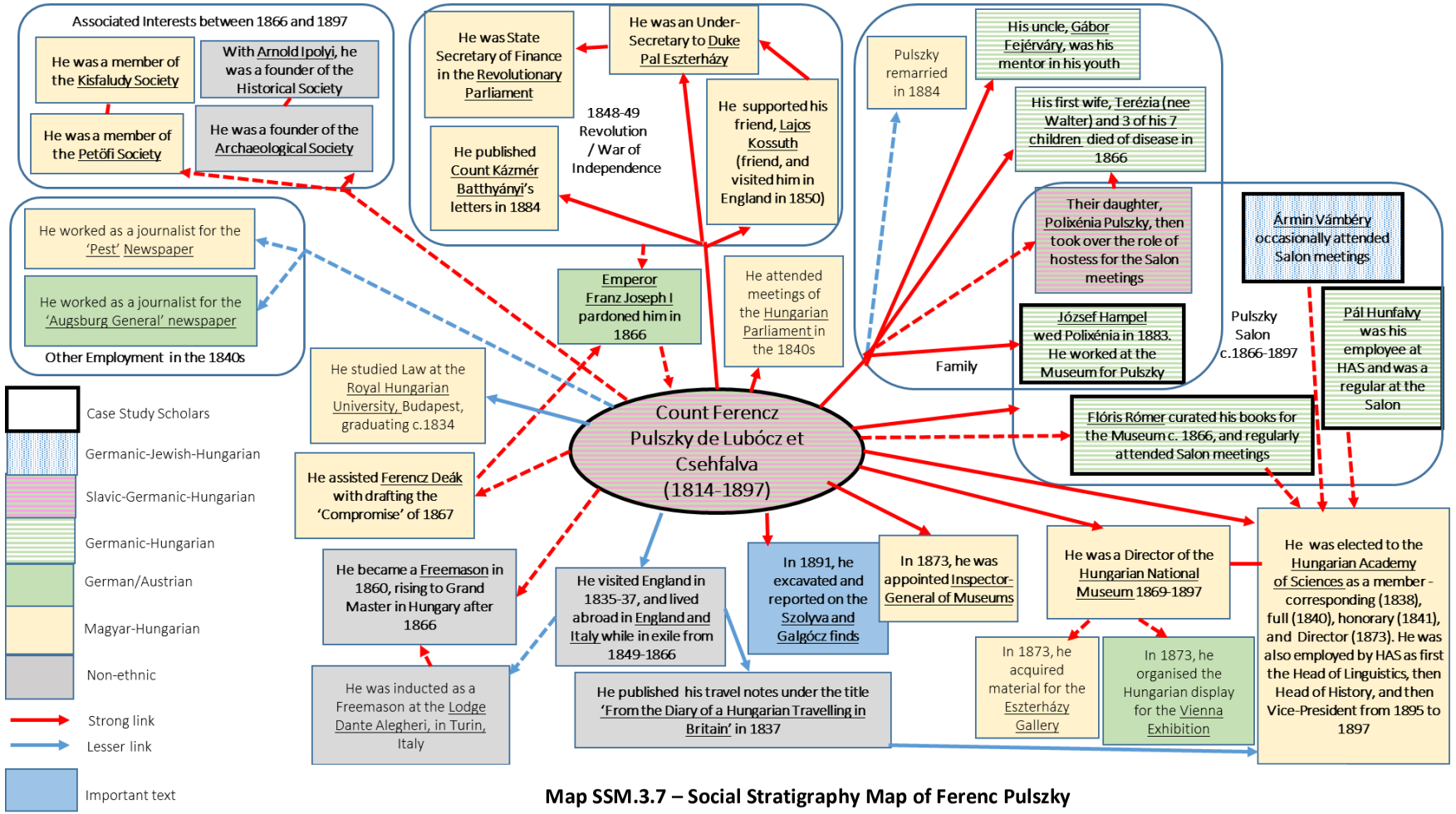
Pulszky then graduated in law and jurisprudence from Budapest University. For several years thereafter he travelled extensively around Europe and participated in various youth movements (Pulszky, 1884: 31—56), already nurturing his interest in politics. He wrote a book about his time in England titled *From the Diary of a Hungarian Travelling in Britain* (Pulszky, 1837),[83] which was published in English and German. Following the appearance of the German edition, Pulszky was offered and accepted Corresponding membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Glatz, 2003: 'P'; Kabdebo, 2003: 1). In the membership listings, Pulszky is recorded as an archaeologist, art historian and politician (Glatz, 2003: 'P'). Kabdebo noted also that the English edition of Pulszky's book gained him friends among Irish politicians (Kabdebo, 2003: 1). Two years later, Pulszky was made a Full member of the Academy and an Honorary member a year after that (Glatz, 2003: 'P').

In the 1840s, Pulszky was elected to the Hungarian Diet (Pulszky, 1884: 160—184) and worked as a journalist for the *Pesti Hírlap* [in English, Pest Newspaper] and the *Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung* [in English, Augsburg General Newspaper] (Ferenczy, 1889: 83—84). During that time, he married Terézia Walter, the daughter of a wealthy Viennese banker and received a large dowry from her family (Pulszky, 1884: 185—208; Kabdebo, 2003: 1). They began a family, eventually having seven children (Pulszky, 1884: 209—246; Kabdebo, 2003: 2).

[81] Pulszky wrote in his autobiography that, whilst there is no known documentation to prove it, according to his family's tradition, the family had originally been Walloon and their surname had been Poule, but that they had changed the name to Pulszky when they fled the persecution of the Lutherans in Poland (Pulszky, 1884: 6)

[82] Pulszky's noted in his autobiography that his father's first wife, Judit Várady-Szakmáry, had died of breast cancer (Pulszky, 1884: 8).

[83] The German title of Pulszky's book was *Aus dem Tagebuch eines in Grossbritannien Reisenden Ungarns* (Pulszky, 1837).



Map SSM.3.7 – Social Stratigraphy Map of Ferenc Pulszky

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

In 1848—49, Pulszky participated in the Revolution against Austria under the leadership of Lajos Kossuth and was rewarded with the post of State Secretary of Finance in the short-lived Revolutionary Parliament of Duke Pál Eszterházy (Pulszky, 1884: 257—397; Kabdebo, 2003: 1). However, in the last month of the conflict, with the Magyars losing and Kossuth fleeing into exile, Pulszky was condemned to death for *Contempt of Court* for his part in the conflict (Pulszky, 1884: Vol. 2 7—230; Kabdebo, 2003: 1). He fled the country with his family, spending time with Kossuth in England, before Kossuth went to America and Pulszky remained in England (Pulszky, 1884: Vol. 1 421—468, Vol. 2 7—230; Kabdebo, 2003: 1).

In his autobiography, Pulszky published letters he had received from an old friend, Count Kázmér Batthyányi, which detailed the dire situation in Hungary during the last months of the conflict, when Pulszky was already in London (Pulszky, 1884: 492—504). Kabdebo noted that, with Pulszky no longer in the country, his estate was confiscated by the Austrian Authorities and a bounty of 1000 Forint was placed on his head (Kabdebo, 2003: 1). In the 'Introduction' and several later chapters of his autobiography, Pulszky also discussed the political and economic scene in Hungary after the Revolution (Pulszky, 1884: 4—7, 100—101, Grof Batthyányi's letters in Part 2). He noted the executions of the Revolutionaries, the suppression of thought, and hyperinflation, as three major consequences (Pulszky, 1884: 4—7). In defence of his own situation, Pulszky also claimed that every intellectual, "indeed every person in the Empire who did not speak 'the Viennese way' at the time", was considered a suspect by the Government (Pulszky, 1884: 4).

During the years he spent in exile from Hungary, Pulszky became interested in Freemasonry and was initiated in 1860 at the Lodge Dante Alighieri in Turin, Italy, (Pulszky, 1884: Vol. 2, 422—439; Kabdebo, 2003: 1). His efforts within the Masons saw him quickly rise to the 33rd grade of the Scottish Rite (Pulszky, 1884: Vol. 2, 422—439; Kabdebo, 2003: 1).

In 1866, his wife and three of his seven children died of disease (Kabdebo, 2003: 2). After living abroad for almost two decades, Pulszky received a pardon from Emperor Franz Josef I and the grant of his former estate, so he returned to Hungary (Kabdebo, 2003: 1). Ferenczy noted that Pulszky's apartment in Budapest was so small that he could not keep all of his books in it and decided to donate some to the Academy (Ferenczy, 1889: 85). Rómer, who at the time was the Manager of Manuscripts at the Academy's library, then had the task of selecting the books to be donated (Ferenczy, 1889: 85). Meanwhile, Pulszky joined the Deák Party, working with Ferencz Deák in formulating the policies that resulted in the 1867 Compromise (Ferenczy, 1889:

85—87). He also continued his involvement with the Freemasons, assisting with the reorganisation of the Hungarian Lodge and rising to Grand Master (Kabdebo, 2003: 2).

In addition to his political career and Masonic work, Pulszky took an active role in the Arts and archaeology. Ferenczy wrote that Pulszky was the Head of the Linguistics Department at the Academy for more than a decade, followed by a period as the Head of its History Department (Ferenczy, 1889: 85). He was appointed a Director of the Hungarian National Museum in 1869 and spent much of his time in his later years living and working at the Museum, retiring from that post only in 1894 (HNM, 2016). During his years at the Museum, he worked on the material acquisitions for the Eszterházy Gallery and was one of the key organisers of the Hungarian Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 (Ferenczy, 1889: 89; HNM, 2016).

Pulszky's personal status changed from widower to husband again in 1884 when he remarried at 70 years of age (Ferenczy, 1889: 94—96). However, since his first wife's death, his daughter Polixénia had progressively taken over the role of hostess at the many social gatherings and meetings held regularly at his home (Ferenczy, 1889: 94—96). Those gatherings, which were a feature of Saturday nights in Budapest became known as the 'Pulszky Salon' and were attended by many intellectuals, Hungarian and foreign, who were drawn to Pulszky's hospitality and the lively discussions to be had (Ferenczy, 1889: 94—96). Among the many scholars who frequented those meetings were Pál Hunfalvy and Flóris Rómer, while others who attended less often, included Ármin Vámbéry and the composer, Franz Liszt (Merényi, 2004: "A Pulszky-Szalon").

In 1890, Pulszky conducted further archaeological excavations at the previously excavated and reported Galgocz and Szolyva sites, with his report serving to add to the growing view in Hungary of the type-style for identifying Magyar finds (Pulszky, 1890: 3—21). Pulszky's report on those sites, as noted later in Chapters 5 and 6, while providing useful information about the artefacts, also contained some inconsistencies and omissions compared to the original reports made by the sites' discoverers, which raise questions about his attentiveness to their writings at that advanced stage in his life.

Pulszky's interest in cultural matters saw him hold several memberships of Societies. Among these were the Kisfaludy Society, a group set up to assist poets to present their works and maintain their legacy, and the Petöfi Society (1876—1944), which disseminated Hungarian literature in order to cultivate national spirit (Deme, 2014). Others included founding membership of the Historical Society and the Archaeological Society (Deme, 2014). While Pulszky devoted much of his energy in his later life to making Hungarians more aware of their

'Magyar' heritage, he remained ever the politician, with his political views coming to the fore even in his archaeology-focussed paper on several sites, entitled "A Magyar Pogány Sírleletek" [in English, The Pagan Grave Finds of the Magyars] (Pulszky, 1890). In that paper, Pulszky's prime focus was a discussion of some of the archaeological finds made up to that time that had been associated with the Conquest era Magyars (c.895—905CE). However, he also decried what he saw as anti-Magyar bias among other scholars, when he commented that: "finally the German scholars with their anti-polemic, who even today write that our ancestors [the ancient Magyars] were wild barbarians whose culture stands on the lowest rung, have heard the evidence of these grave remains and culture and skilful technology"[84](Pulszky, 1890: 7, translated by Author, 2011).

In recognition of his many efforts towards Magyar cultural advancement within Hungary, in 1895 Pulszky was elected Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and retained that position until his death two years later (Deme, 2014). Dying on 9th September 1897, aged 83 years, Pulszky was buried alongside other members of his family at the National Graveyard (Kerepesi) in Budapest (Comstock, 2016). The large headstone there commemorates Pulszky's life and those of ten of his relatives, including: his uncle and mentor, Gábor Fejérváry, his first wife Terézia Pulszky (nee Walter), their daughter, Polixénia, and her husband, József Hampel, who is discussed later in this Chapter (Comstock, 2016).

Ferencz Flóris Rómer (1815—1889) (Profile: SSM.3.8)

On 12th April 1815, Ferencz Flóris Rammer (or Rommer), and known as Flóris, was born in Pozsony, northern Hungary to ethnic German parents (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). It is not known when the family name changed to Rómer.[85] Flóris' father was a master bootmaker and his son spent his early childhood surrounded by well-to-do clients (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Some years later, his parents sent him to Trencsén to master the Slovak language and then to Tatár to become proficient in Magyar (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Debreczeni-Droppán noted that sending one's children to various locations to learn multiple languages was a common practice in Hungary at the time (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Apparently, Rómer was already aware in the sixth

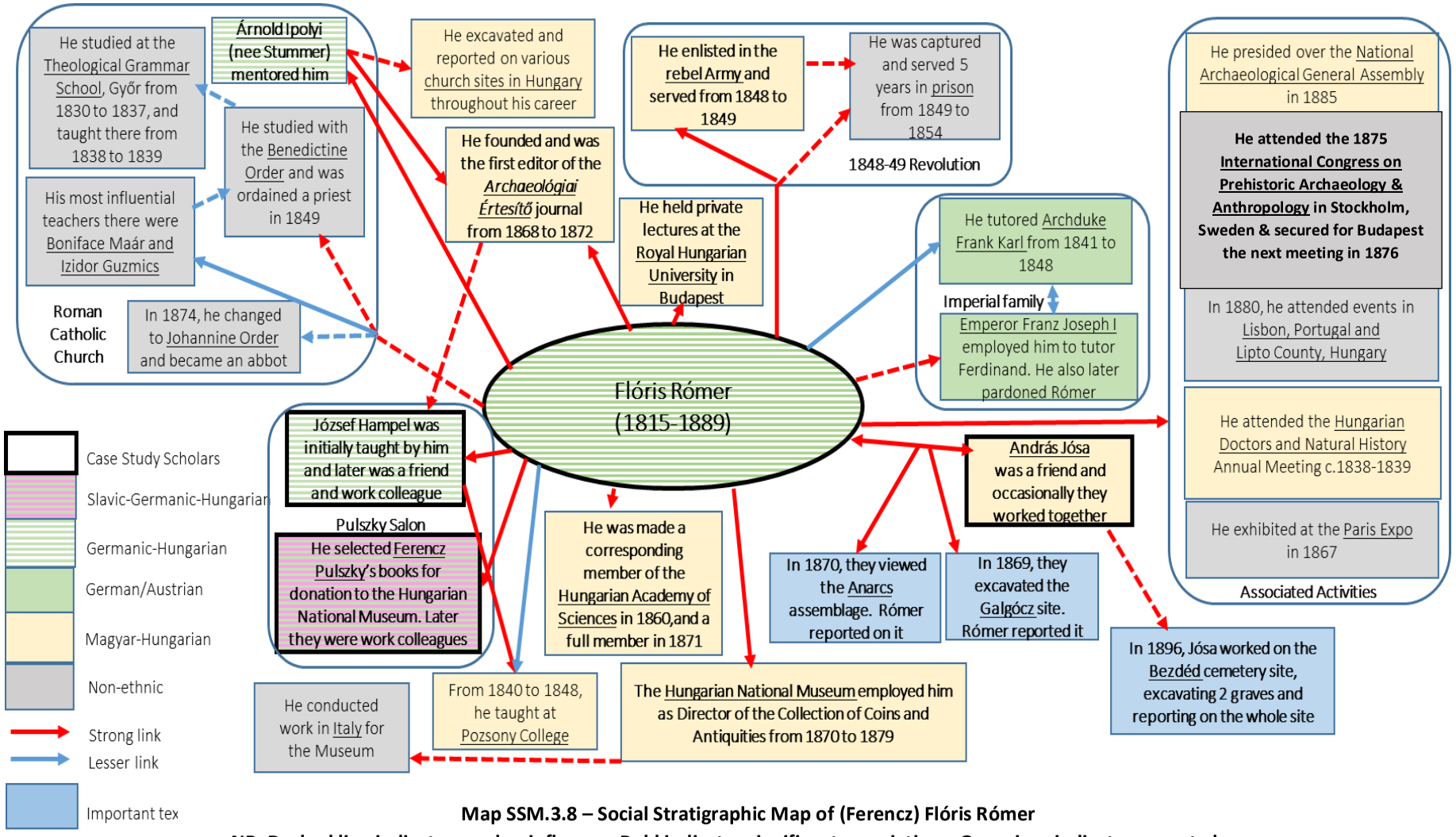
[84] Original text in Magyar: "végre a német tudósok ellen polemizál, kik öseinket majd minding vad barbároknak írják le, kik a kulturának lealacsonyabb fokán állanak, holott ezen sírlelet is kulturáról és ügyes technikáról ád bizonyságot" (Pulszky, 1890: 7).

[85] The name-change from either Rammer or Rommer to Rómer is not listed in the published *Register* of name changes between 1800 and 1893 (Magyar Heraldikai és Genealógiai Társaság, 1895: 184-195 'R'). This suggests that the name change either was not officially registered or was omitted in error from the Register, the former explanation being considered the more probable.

grade that he wanted to join the Benedictine Order of monks and did so at only 15 years of age (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). He spent the first year within the Order at Pannonhalma and then was sent to Győr for the next two years of his theological studies (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). That was followed by a period in Bakonybel, before returning to Pannonhalma for his final exam (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Debreczeni-Droppán noted that young Rómer's greatest influences at the time were his teacher, Boniface Maár, and Izidor Guzmics, a monk and historian known for his oratory skills (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5).

During those early years with the Order, Rómer spent much of his time in the ancient books section of the library and took part in reorganising it (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). It was during that time that he also began publishing his own material and came into contact with the Hungarian National Museum, where he later worked (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5).

Ordained a priest in 1838, he then spent a period at the Abbey in Tihány (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay), before teaching at the Theological Grammar School in Győr in the following year (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Szinnyei noted that Rómer's health was relatively poor during that period and he often had to rest (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). His first classes in Győr were teaching Latin and Magyar to the first graders, while spending his leisure time painting, drawing and travelling about collecting antiques and natural history artefacts (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). His interest in natural history led him later to attend the influential Hungarian Doctors and Natural History Annual Meeting (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 5). Returning at some point to Pozsony to teach, Rómer was appointed a professor at the College, where he taught physics, natural history and agronomy (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6). József Hampel was one of his students (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6). There, Rómer was lauded by some among the educated bourgeoisie for reorganising the store of drugs, while some of his colleagues saw him as a threat and verbally attacked him (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6). Nevertheless, his reputation grew, and he was appointed to the Emperor's family to tutor Archduke Franz Karl (1802—1878) in natural history (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6). During those years, Rómer spent his spare time travelling around the various regions of the Kingdom examining monuments and collecting artefacts (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6).



Map SSM.3.8 – Social Stratigraphic Map of (Ferencz) Flóris Rómer

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

When the Revolution began in March 1848, despite being an ordained priest, Rómer saw his participation as a patriotic duty and enlisted in the Revolutionary Army at the rank of Sapper Lieutenant, using the pseudonym Ferenc Római (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Vékony, 2002: 18; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 6). As the war was ending in August 1849, Rómer was captured and sentenced to eight years in prison, but only served five of those years, spending his time in prison reading, studying mathematics and engineering, learning French, drawing and painting, and crafting small baubles (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7).

Pardoned by Emperor Franz Josef (reigned 1848—1916) in April 1854, at 39 years of age Rómer was released but remained under police surveillance for some months, with his movements restricted (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7). In August that year he returned to the Benedictine Order, moving through several posts in short succession, until he was offered the post of tutoring the son of András Szubovics (or Szuborits), the steward in the Archduke's Pozsony household (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7). He worked in that and similar roles for the next few years, while applying for teaching positions at various schools (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7).

Eventually, he returned to the Grammar School in Győr, where earlier he had studied, but now as a natural history teacher to the lower grades (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7). While in that role, he spent his spare time expanding his collection of artefacts and researching history in the monastery's library (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7). There, in 1859, he met the priest (later bishop) Árnold Ipolyi, who helped him to work more methodically and became a lifelong friend and mentor, also pointing Rómer towards archaeological research (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Vékony, 2002: 18; Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 7). The following year, Rómer's efforts were recognised by the Academy, which elected him as a Corresponding member (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 8).

With Ipolyi's encouragement, Rómer began surveying and excavating sites in and around Budapest and other towns in the Kingdom, with his focus on Church buildings and their surrounds, and publishing articles and books on his many finds (Debreczeni-Droppán, 2016: 8). In the summer of 1868, Rómer founded the journal *Archaeologiai Értesítő* [in English, Archaeological Bulletin] and became its first editor, holding that post until 1872 (Rómer, 1869—1872; Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). Within the first year of publication, the journal developed a strong support base among Hungarian academics through Rómer's close association with the Academy, which partly funded its publication (Rómer, 1869: 105). A few

months later, Rómer was appointed to a Professorship at the University of Budapest and to the post of Director, Collection of Coins and Antiquities, at the Hungarian National Museum (Kalla, 2003: 422). Kalla noted that from that time "University lecturers and professors in the university department took on the responsibility from some public collection [resulting in] the scholarly work of the professors [being] based on a museum collection, library and worship, and few efforts were made to develop these facilities at the university" (Kalla, 2003: 422).

While working in those dual roles, Rómer also occasionally partnered friends, such as András Jósa (see later in this chapter), in excavating sites without Churches, such as the Conquest-era gravesite at Galgocz, which Rómer reported on in 1870 and 1871 (see Chapter 5). Having achieved a strong reputation in Hungarian archaeology, Rómer also received offers to examine various assemblages (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay), such as the Anarcs 1 artefacts, which he associated with the Conquest-era and published in 1870 (see Chapter 5). He also exhibited artefacts at the Paris Expo in 1867 and participated in the National Prehistorical Archaeology Congress (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). In 1869, he conducted work in Italy for the National Museum (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). On the strength of his many accomplishments in the field of archaeology, the Academy elevated him to Full member status in 1871 (Glatz, 2003: 'R').

Leaving the Benedictine Order in 1874, Rómer became an abbot in the Johannine Order and diocesan priest for Beszterczebánya (now Banská Bystrica, Slovakia) (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). The information to hand does not record why he made that change. In 1875, at the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology in Stockholm, Sweden, Rómer was instrumental in securing Budapest as the location for the next meeting of the Congress the following year (József Hampel & Rómer, 1877; Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay; Sklenář, 1983: 107).

Rómer stepped down from his directorship at the National Museum in 1879 and was replaced by Károly Torma (1829-1897) (Kalla, 2003: 422). In retirement, Rómer continued to be involved in archaeology and natural history matters, attending natural history events in 1880 at Lisbon, Portugal, and Lipto County, Hungary, and presiding over the Hungarian National Archaeological General Assembly in 1885 (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay). He died on 18th March 1889 at Nagyvárad and two years later, Hampel, his former student and Museum colleague, delivered a memorial lecture in his honour at the Academy (Szinnyei, 1906b: Popeszku-Rybay).

József Hampel (1849—1913) (Profile: SSM.3.9)

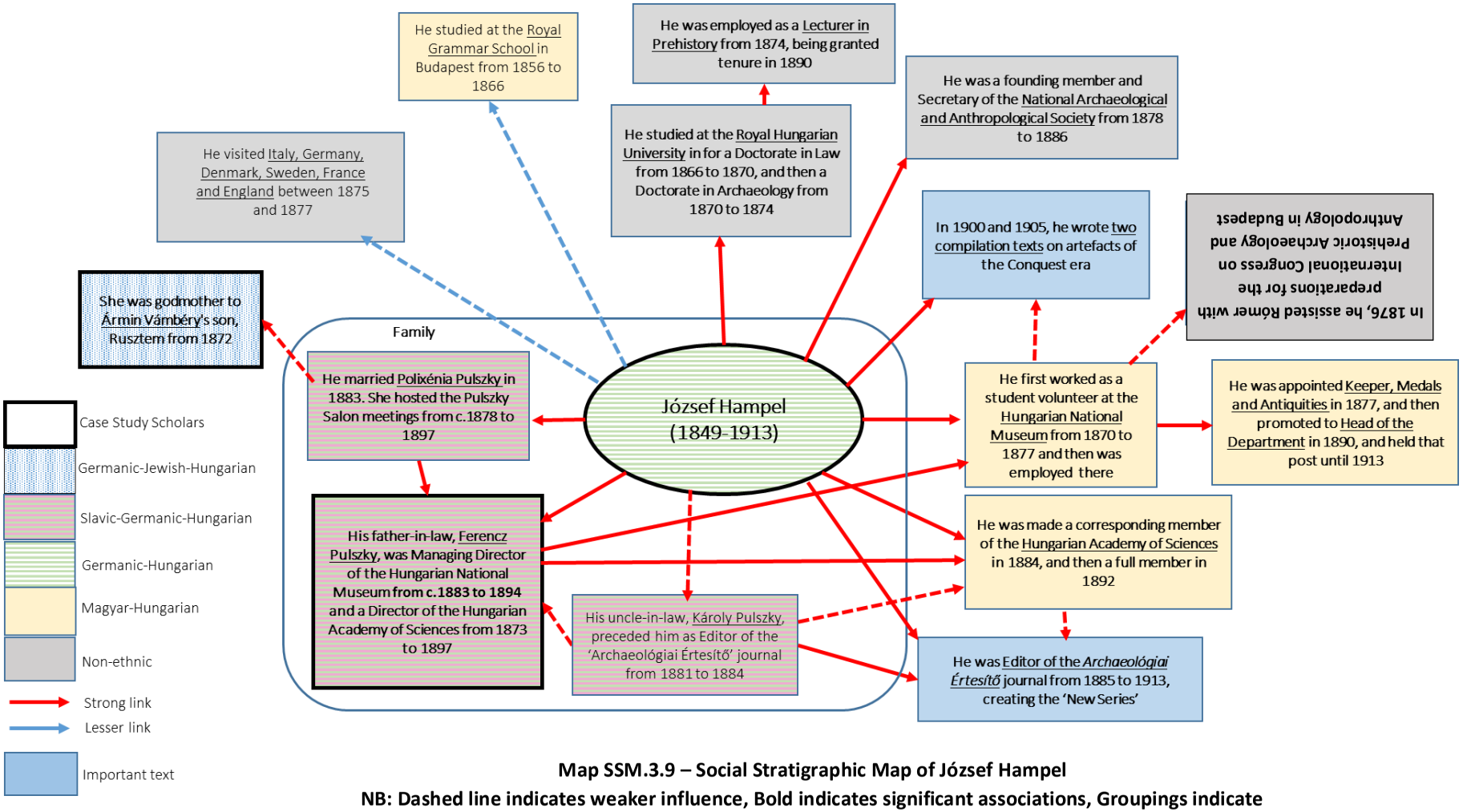
Hampel was born in Pest on 10th November 1849, to an ethnic-German middle-class family (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl). A few months earlier, the Revolution with Austria ended with the Hungarians quashed by the Austrians, whose army was heavily reinforced by Russian troops (Endrey, 1982: 310). In Hungary, the aftermath of the Revolution was a time of major economic downturn, as political retribution against those who fought on the 'rebels' side saw many of the Revolution's leaders executed and others flee the country, including Hampel's future father-in-law, Count Ferencz Pulszky (Pulszky, 1884: 492—504). As a child, József attended the Royal Grammar School in Budapest until 1866 (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl).

Completing his Doctorate in Law at the Royal University of Budapest in 1870, Hampel then chose to work, first as a student, then as an assistant curator at the Hungarian National Museum (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl). There, he quickly familiarised himself with the arrangement of the material culture in the collection while undertaking a doctorate in archaeology, completed in 1874 (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl). His organisational skills assisted the Museum to prepare for the 1876 International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology, for which he had the responsibility of overseeing the rural museums' assemblage and compiling their catalogue for publication (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl).[86] Hampel also travelled around Europe for a time, visiting museums in Italy, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, France and England (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl).

His work at the Museum earned him favour with the academic community and in 1877 he was appointed to the post of Curator, Medals and Antiquities Department, at Budapest University, where he was recognised as an expert in Classical Archaeology (Kenyéres, 1981: 'H'). From 1880 he worked as a lecturer on prehistory at the University and in 1890 was granted tenure, teaching Classical Archaeology there until his death (Kenyéres (ed.), 1981: 'H').

In 1883, Hampel married Polixénia Pulszky, the daughter of Count Pulszky, and they travelled in Greece for a time before settling down (Szinnyei, 1896d: Hääder-Hyrtl). At that time, his new father-in-law was Managing Director of the Museum and a central figure in promoting cultural awareness in Hungary through his many professional and social contacts, with Polixénia acting as his hostess (Merényi, 2004: 4). That arrangement continued on after her marriage to Hampel,

[86] Hampel then also co-authored with Rómer the papers from that Congress (Hampel & Rómer, 1877).



Map SSM.3.9 – Social Stratigraphic Map of József Hampel

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

while Polixénia was also active in many other endeavours during the remainder of her life, especially in promoting the education of women (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl).

1884 saw Hampel elected as a Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Glatz, 2003: 'H'), of which his father-in-law was a long-time member and a Director since 1873 (Glatz, 2003: 'P'). Hampel's membership listing records him as an archaeologist (Glatz, 2003: 'H'), although his work was mainly limited to typology. Six years later, Hampel was appointed Head of the National Museum's Coins and Antiquities Department (Kalla, 2003: 422), in which capacity he excelled in organising the archaeologists who were conducting research for the Department and the processing of their excavated finds (Kenyéres, 1981: 'H'). According to Kalla, during that period "the Department essentially served to train teachers and did not regard ensuring the supply of archaeologists as its duty" (Kalla, 2003: 422) –a situation that continued until 1914 when Bálint Kuzsinszky took over the role from Hampel (Kalla, 2003: 422).

Hampel was a founding member and Secretary of the National Archaeological and Anthropological Society in Hungary from 1878 to 1886 (Szinnyei, 1896e: Gyalai-Hyrtl). A year after joining the Academy, Hampel was appointed Editor of the by-now influential journal, *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, replacing Polixénia's uncle, Károly, in that role. He remained in that position for 28 years, setting the journal's editorial policies and influencing the nature of articles appearing in it. By 1892, his reputation had grown significantly and, in that year, aged 43 years, Hampel was elevated to Full member status at the Academy (Glatz, 2003: 'H'). He was now very influential, both personally and through his Pulszky family connection.

During those years in the Museum, Hampel also focussed his energies on cataloguing new assemblages and re-examining existing ones. In both 1900 and 1905, he published major compilation texts itemising the artefacts associated with the Conquest-era Magyars. Fodor later noted that "Pulszky and Hampel...were more interested in the form and ornamentation of the finds" (Fodor, 1996: 22), than their provenance. In this vein, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, in several cases Hampel reported the artefact assemblages differently to the original reports made by their discoverers or collectors.

Tivadar Lehoczky (1830—1915) (Profile: SSM.3.10)

Tivadar Lehoczky was born on 5th October 1830, in the port town of Fiume, in western Hungary (now part of Italy). His father János, a Treasury official, died in 1837, when young Tivadar was still only six years old (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). An entry (BM. 16735—67) in the *Register of Name Changes* showed that a teacher from Komarom named János Leloczky had changed his

surname to Lehoczky, although no date is given for that change (MHGT, 1895: 146), so it is uncertain whether that registration refers to a member of Tivadar's family.

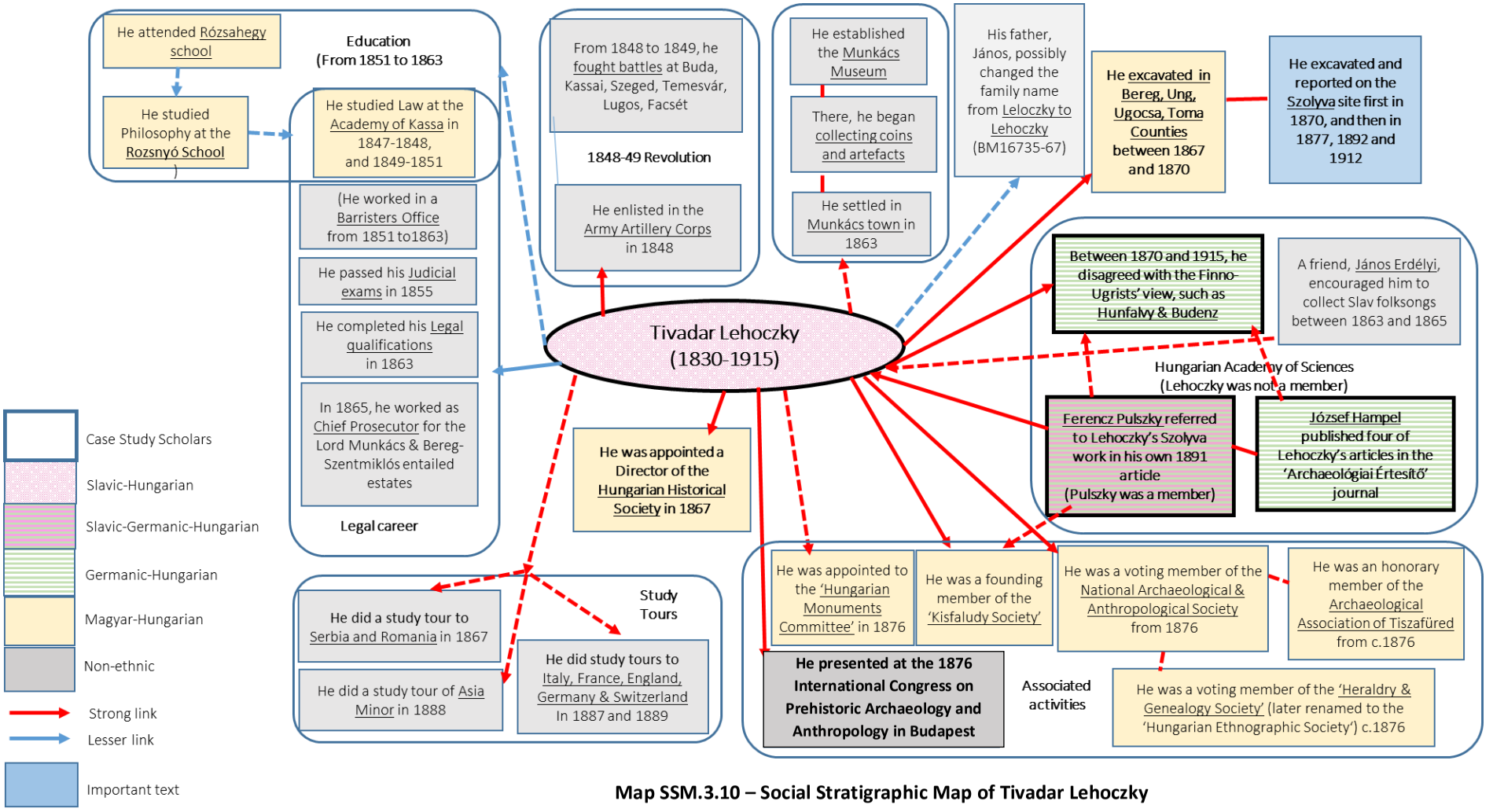
Tivadar's earliest education was at the Grammar School in Rózsahegy (now Rŭzemberok, Slovakia), later studying philosophy in Rozsnyó (now Rožňava, Slovakia) (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). In 1847, aged 17, he began Law studies at the Academy of Kassa (now Kosice, Slovakia) (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). However, with the outbreak of the Revolution the following year, Lehoczky enlisted in the Imperial Army's Artillery Corps, participating in battles at Buda, Kassai, Szeged, Temesvár (now Timisoara, Slovakia) and Lugos (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). He then made his way home from Facsét and recommenced his studies (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro).

Graduating in 1851, he began work in a barrister's office (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). Four years later, he passed judicial exams and in 1861 and 1863 finalised his legal qualifications (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro).

That year, Lehoczky settled in Munkács, Transcarpathia (now Mukachevo, Ukraine) (Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás") and began taking an active interest in collecting coins and archaeological artefacts (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro), using his collection later to establish a museum in the town. Over subsequent years, Lehoczky published several volumes on historical subjects, in particular on the history of Bereg County (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). His friend János Erdélyi also encouraged him to collect Ukrainian and Slovak folk songs and proverbs (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro).

In 1865, Lehoczky's legal career received a significant boost when he was appointed as Chief Prosecutor for the Lord Munkács and Bereg-Szentmiklós entailed estates (formerly the Rákoczy estate), while he also continued with his part-time twin passions in historical and archaeological research (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). The Hungarian Historical Society elected Lehoczky as a Director and voting member in 1867 (Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás") and he went on the first of his study tours in Europe, visiting Serbia and Romania that year (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro).

As an amateur archaeologist, Lehoczky also conducted excavations in Bereg, Ung, Ugocsa and Toma Counties over the next few years (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). In 1870, he excavated and reported on the Szolyva archaeological site (see Chapter 5), carrying out three further excavation seasons on the site in later years (Lehoczky, 1870, 1877, 1892, 1912). Lehoczky titled his report on the Szolyva find: "A Szolyvai Hun-Sír" [in English, the 'Hun Grave of Szolyva'].



Map SSM.3.10 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Tivadar Lehoczky

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

With the Huns having departed the Carpathian Basin several centuries before the Conquest Era, the inference from that title is that Lehoczky subscribed to a popular view to that time that the Magyars were descended from the Huns (see Chapters 5 and 6 for more on this view and its place in the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis).

At the Eighth International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology in Budapest in 1876, Lehoczky presented his archaeological maps of Bereg county, and some artefacts from his private collection (Hampel & Rómer, 1877; Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro; Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás"). The same year, Lehoczky was appointed to the Interim Committee for Historic Monuments (MIB)[87] as its cultural member (Katalin Ernyey, 2003: 419; Nicholas Marquez-Grant & Linda Fibiger, 2011: 197, Table 17.4; Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás"). Lehoczky also held voting membership in the National Archaeological and Anthropological Society and the Heraldry and Genealogy Society (later renamed to the Hungarian Ethnographic Society), an Honorary membership of the ethnic-Magyar Archaeological Association of Tiszafüred, and purportedly was a member of the Kisfaludy Society (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro; Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás"). In 1887 and again in 1889, Lehoczky went on further study tours in Europe, visiting Italy, France, England, Germany and Switzerland. He also travelled around Asia Minor in the intervening year (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro).

Lehoczky died on 5th November 1915 in Munkács, aged 85 years (Szinnyei, 1896h: Labach-Lyro). Later, the Hungarian Cultural Federation in Bereg inaugurated a memorial plaque in his honour at the former Town Hall. In 2005, the Ukrainian Research Station of the Academy was renamed to the Tivadar Lehoczky Institute in his honour (Csatáry, 2015: "Bemutatkozás"), to commemorate his work in that region during much of his adult life.

Comment

While Lehoczky was honoured for his work by a number of societies in his day, he was never elected a member of the Academy. His profile showed that Lehoczky lacked qualifications as an archaeologist, which may be why he was not nominated for membership in that field. He was, however, a qualified and highly respected lawyer, but still did not gain membership to the Academy in that field, which suggests that other reasons may have played a part in his lack of membership.

[87] In 1881, Article No. 1881 (XXXIX) was passed by the Diet, as the first law regulating edifices found in the ground or on the surface. The law also put in place a permanent National Committee for Historic Monuments (MOB), in place of the Interim Committee founded in 1872 (Ernyey, 2003: 419; Marquez-Grant & Fibiger, 2011: 197, Table 17.4).

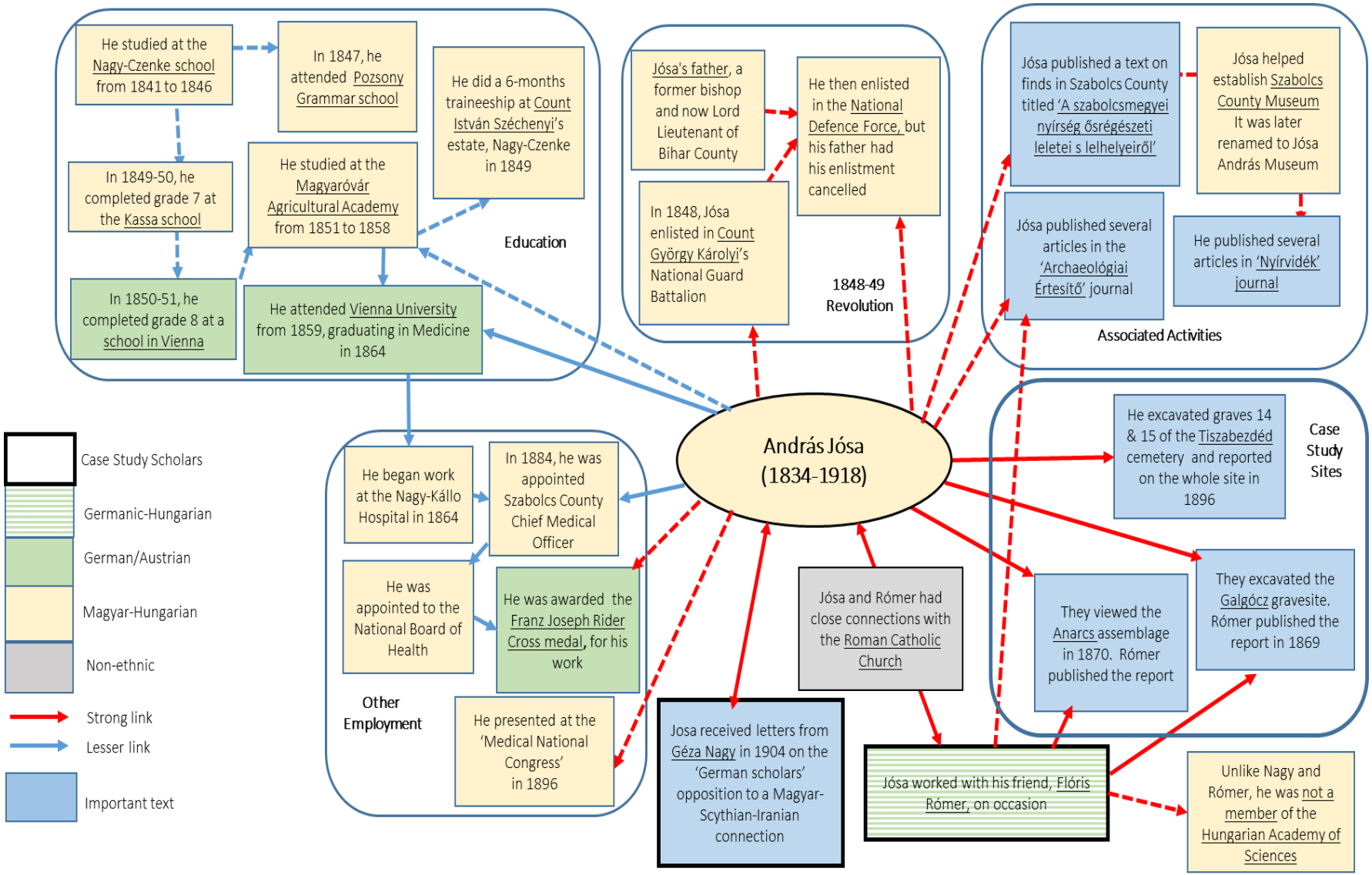
As discussed later, Lehoczky's lack of formal qualifications in archaeology notwithstanding, his report identifying the Szolyva grave as Hun was published just prior to the ignition of the Ugric-Turkic War (see earlier in this chapter and Chapter 4). This may have played a role in his omission from the Academy, where Hunfalvy and Budenz were prominent and highly respected members at the time and had published, including in their own journal, on the Magyar-Ugric linguistic connection that was the basis of the Uralic theory. Once the Ugric-Turkic War exploded, views opposing the Uralic theory were ignored or treated with derision, as evidenced by the earlier profile on Vámbéry and his Turkic theory, and further discussed in the overall analysis in Chapter 6, when the issue of the tripartite relationship between Hunfalvy, Budenz and Vámbéry is revisited.

András Jósa (1834—1918) (Profile: SSM.3.11)

András Jósa was born on 30th November 1834 in Nagyvárad, Bihar County (now Oradea, Romania) (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). He attended Pozsony Grammar School (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). In 1848, aged only 14 years, he enlisted in the Hungarian National Guard as an artilleryman under the leadership of Count György Károlyi (1802–1877) (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). However, due to his slight stature his father intervened and the young Jósa was discharged (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). Returning to school, he completed grade 7 at Kassa (now Kosice, Slovakia) and grade 8 in Vienna, Austria (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). He then studied at the Economics Academy and spent six months as a trainee on the estate of Count István Széchenyi (1791-1860) at Nagy-Czenk, Győr-Moson-Sopron County (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner).

In 1859, aged 25, Jósa commenced a course in Medicine in Vienna and was awarded his medical degree five years later (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). After his graduation, he first worked in a mental health institution at Döbling (the 19th District of Vienna), and then with Dr. Skoda at the Empress Elizabeth's palace in order to further his understanding of internal medicine (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). Following this, he worked at the hospital in Kálló, eventually being appointed Szabolcs County's Chief Medical Officer in 1884 and relocating to Nyíregyháza (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner). His work as a doctor received considerable recognition with his appointment to the National Board of Health and, later, the award of the Emperor's Order of the Knight's Cross (Szinnyei, 1896g: Jablanczy-Jüttner).

In his spare time, Jósa participated in several archaeological activities. On occasion he worked with his friend, Flóris Rómer, in excavating sites or in collecting artefacts (see Chapter 5, Galgócz and Anarcs), as well as assisting Rómer with organising the International Congress of Prehistoric



Map SSM.3.11 – Social Stratigraphic Map of András Jósa

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations Groupings indicate separate layers

Archaeology and Anthropology in Budapest in 1876 (Jósa, 1889). Jósa praised Rómer: "Áldott legyen emléke" [in English, 'Blessed be his memory'] for his efforts in having the work of rural museums recognised as important and said that the Nyíregyháza Museum and its work might not have happened otherwise (Jósa, 1889).

In 1872, Jósa was appointed to President of the Szabolcs County Archaeological Society, for his close involvement with the archaeology and history of that region (Kotzián, 2016: "A Felfedező Jósa"). In 1896, he was invited to join a team excavating a cemetery near Tiszabezdéd where he participated in opening graves 14, 15 and 17 and reported on the entire site, using notes provided by the team leader, László Vidovich (see Chapter 5).

After his death on 6th September 1918, the Nyíregyháza Museum honoured Jósa by being renamed to the Jósa András Museum (Kotzián, 2016: "A Felfedező Jósa").

Comment

The relationship between Rómer and Jósa was one of sage-and-student, with Jósa the eager student and a great admirer of the sage, Rómer (Jósa, 1889), such as in reflecting his views when reporting on the Bezdéd cemetery (see Chapter 5). Jósa had an accomplished professional life and was respected for both his medical and archaeological work. He was also a friend of the archaeologist Nagy (see later in this chapter), who was an Academy member. It is possible that Nagy could have found sponsors for Jósa among the Full members, even though as a Corresponding member only he did not have voting rights, and yet, Jósa never achieved membership of the Academy even after his 1896 report on the Bezdéd cemetery (see Chapter 4 for more on the election of members to the Academy).

Whilst many possible reasons could explain his lack of Academy membership, Jósa's relationship with Rómer may be one possibility. The latter, as noted elsewhere in this Chapter, was unpopular with Pulszky, a long-time Director and then Vice-President of the Academy. While there is no evidence in the literature of Pulszky having rejected the election of Jósa to the Academy, Pulszky's approach to Rómer, as indicated in his own biographical profile, suggested that he may have quietly disputed the election to Academy membership of any supporter of Rómer (other than his own son-in-law, Hampel, over whom Pulszky held the greater influence).

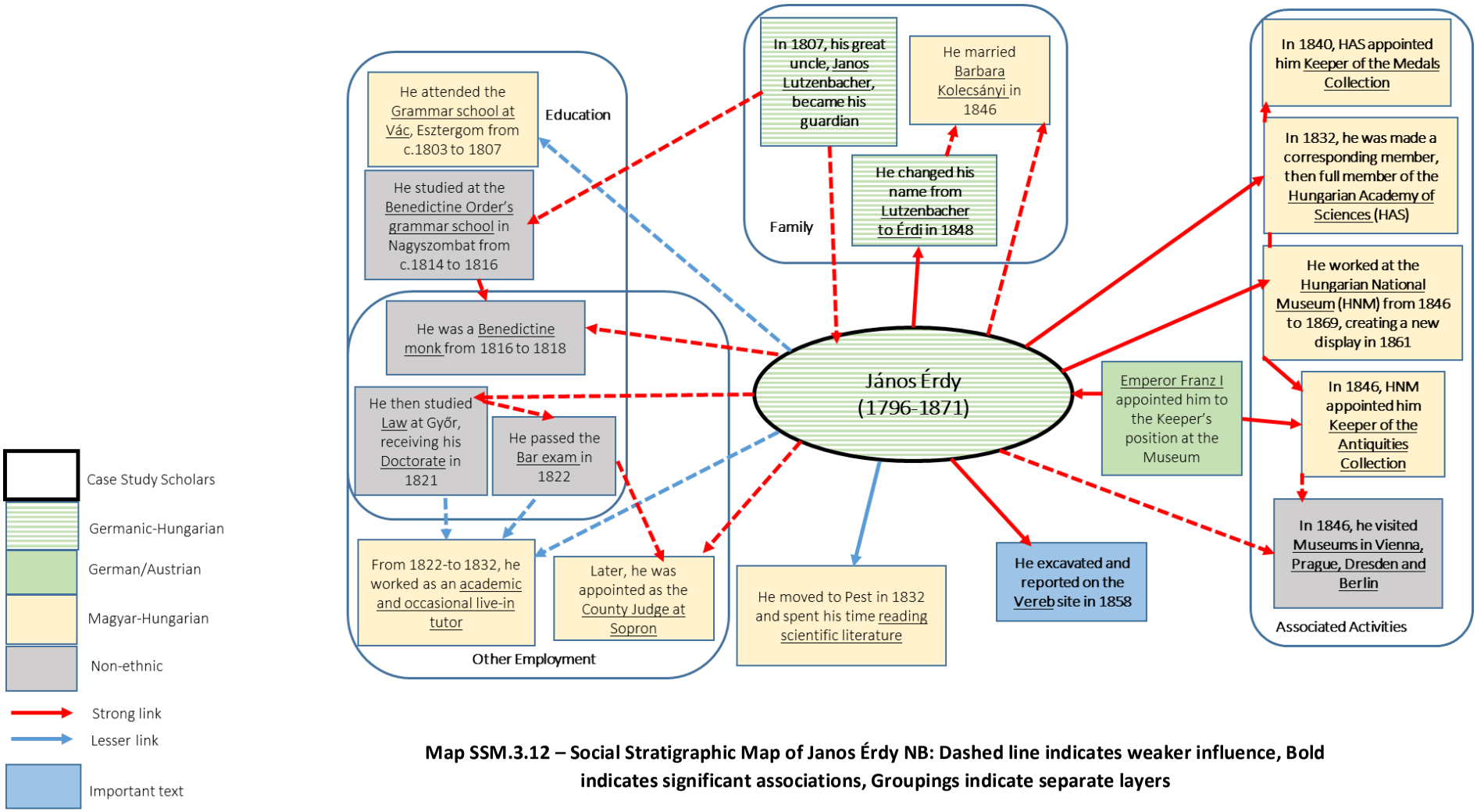
János Érdy (1796—1871) (Profile: SSM.3.12)

Born Johann Lutzenbacher on 19th September 1796, to József Luczenpacher[88] and Maria Czeczkó (Iván Nagy, 1873: 3), Érdy attended Grammar School in Vác and Esztergom. He completed only four years of school before his great uncle, János Luczenbacher, became his guardian (Nagy, 1873: 4; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). Around the age of 18, Érdy was sent to the Benedictine Order's Grammar School in Nagyszombat, where he completed two years of humanities studies and joined the Order as a monk (Nagy, 1873: 4; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). As a noviciate at the Grammar School, Érdy repeated his earlier subjects, while learning about philosophy, natural history and history (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). However, in 1818 Érdy left the Benedictine Order (Nagy, 1873: 5; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner).

Érdy then studied Law at Győr (Nagy, 1873: 4) and worked in various legal capacities for a number of years before gaining his doctorate in Law in 1821 (Nagy, 1873: 7; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). Working as a lawyer, he took the 'Bar' exam in 1822, but then moved into academia seeking a Chair in Law (Nagy, 1873: 7; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). During that time he occasionally worked as a live-in tutor for the sons of well-to-do families in Pest and Pozsony, as well as in Vienna, where he often studied in the Court library (Nagy, 1873: 5—6). From then on, he decided to devote his time and attention to the study of history and archaeology, and the publication of a number of scholarly texts (Nagy, 1873: 8—13, 21—26; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). On 9th March 1832, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him as a Corresponding member and only six months later elevated him to Full member status (Glatz, 2003: 'E'). Moving to Pest, he occupied himself exclusively with reading scientific literature (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner).

On 8th March 1840, the Academy appointed Érdy (then still named Lutzenbacher) as Keeper of the Medals Collection on an annual salary of 300 Forint (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). The Academy's President, Count József Teleki (1790-1855), also entrusted him with responsibility for organising the Veszerle Coin Collection (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). In March 1846, the Emperor appointed Érdy to the post of Keeper of the Hungarian National Museum's Antiquities Collection (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). To enable him to carry out that role Érdy visited

[88] Érdy's original name appears differently in several texts. Nagy gives Érdy's original surname as 'Luczenbacher' and his father's name as 'Luczenpacher', with no explanation for the difference in spelling there (Nagy, 1873: 3), while Szinnyei lists Érdy's original name as 'Lutzenbacher' (Szinnyei, 1896: 'E'). The Register of Name Changes has Érdy listed as 'Lutzenbacher' and his new name as 'Érdi', no. BM 3852-48, and identifies him as the Keeper of the National Museum's Treasures Collection (MHGT, 1895: 65). On 18th June 1848, Erdy apparently chose the new name, Érdi, as it was more 'Magyar-sounding' and reflected the name of his first successful excavation at Érd (Nagy, 1873: 15; Vékony, 2002: 17).



Map SSM.3.12 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Janos Érdy NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

several museums, including in Vienna, Prague, Dresden and Berlin. On his return to Pest, Érdy organised the movement of artefacts from the Ludoviceum and Buda storehouses to the newly-completed Museum building (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). At the end of that year, Érdy married Barbara Kolecsányi (Nagy, 1873: 15) and in September of the next year, he was appointed Sopron County judge (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner).

Érdy conducted formal field excavations around Hungary and catalogued finds, which were stored and displayed in the Museum's new building when it was completed in 1846. The following year, he published a review of Thomsen's Three-Age System, titled "Stone Age Grave Mounds and Antiquities" in *Magyar Akadémiai Értesítő* journal (Érdy, 1847: 217-221; Vékony, 2002: 17). Nine years later, Érdy resigned from his position at the Academy (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner), although the information to hand did not record or infer a reason for his resignation.

In 1858, Érdy excavated the Vereb site, which was identified as only the second Conquest-era site to be reported to that time (Érdy, 1858: 14-27; Nagy, 1873: 16; also, Chapter 5).

Three years later, with a generous donation from Baron Simon von Sina (1810—1876), Érdy created a new display for the Museum's Medals Collection and opened it to the public (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). Throughout his working life, Érdy published many journal articles, including several translations and discussions of codexes, excavation reports, and a large number of historical essays (Nagy, 1873: 21—26; Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). He retired in 1869 and died two years later on 18th June 1871 (Szinnyei, 1896b: Caban-Exner). In 1873, Iván Nagy published a memorial speech about Érdy in which he detailed Erdy's life and work (Nagy, 1873: 3—26).

Comment

While Érdy's profile did not indicate any particular leaning one way or the other on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis, his willingness to avoid issues was perhaps a political statement on the issue in itself. Following Jankowich's lead, he immediately associated the Vereb find with the ancient Magyars, despite the differences in the two assemblages and the lack of certain provenance for either. As discussed later in Chapter 6, this suggested his focus was on his career advancement and that, to achieve that advancement, he saw the Vereb find as a means to an end.

The impact of his association of the Vereb find with the Conquest-era Magyars will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6. For now, it needs to be pointed out that his name change from Lutzenbacher to Érdi in 1848, occurring in the same year as the Revolution, suggested that the ethnic-German Érdy may have felt a need to identify more closely with the ethnic-Magyar majority in Hungary at a time when the concept of Magyar nationalism was at the forefront of politics in Hungary. Whether that need was due to Érdy having some sympathy with the views of the Revolutionaries or was intended to avoid problems with them or their non-combative sympathisers could not be determined. However, his roles at the National Museum and the Academy appeared to have continued unbroken throughout that period and onto his retirement from the Museum in 1869, which suggested a measure of success in that regard.

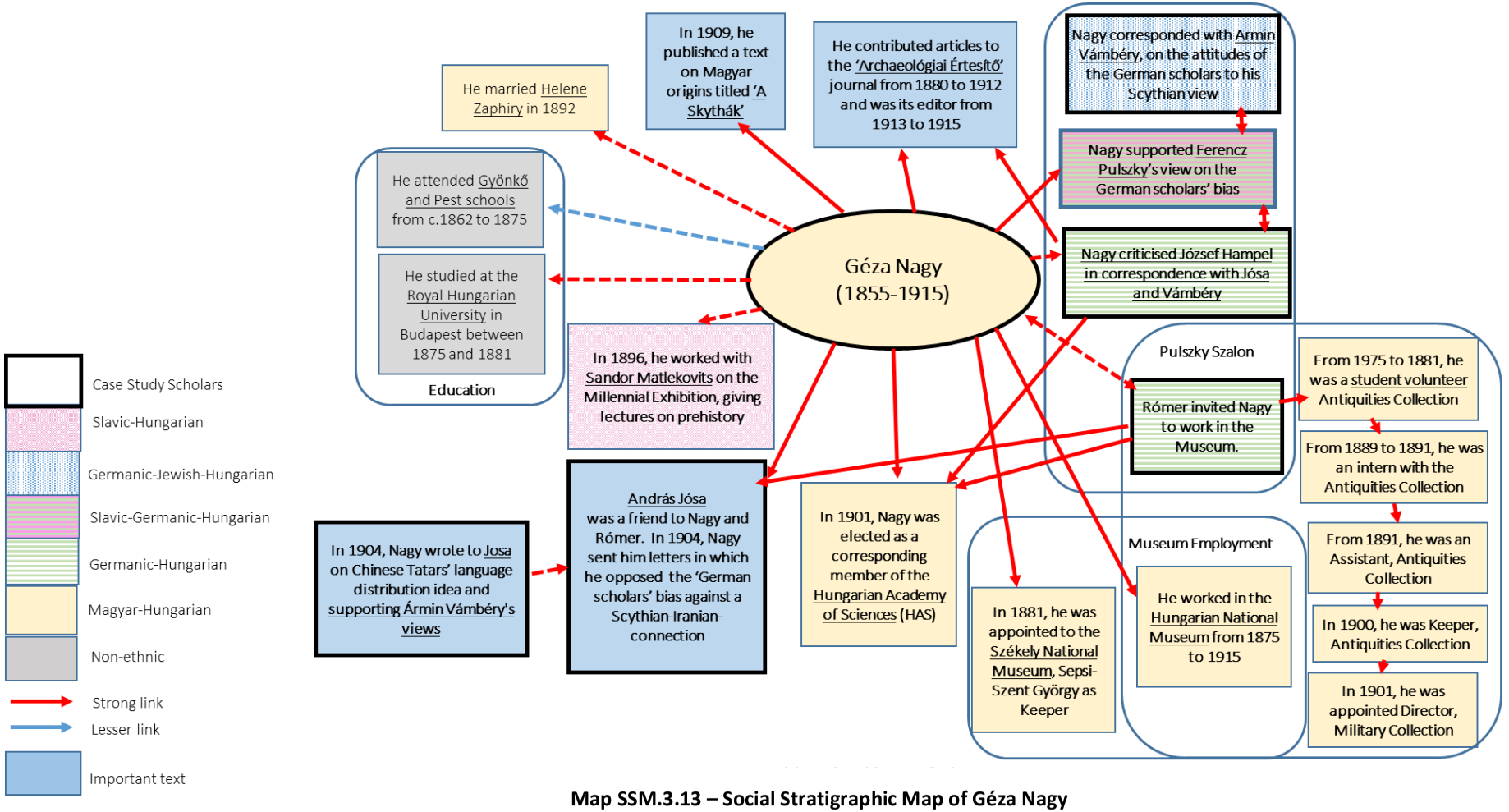
Géza Nagy (1855—1915) (Profile: SSM.3.13)

Géza Nagy was born on 4th August 1855 in Gárdony, Fejér County, to István Nagy and Zsuzsana Thaly. Schooled at Gyönkö and Pest, he studied philosophy at the University, attending also lectures on history, archaeology, literary history, comparative linguistics and geography (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő). Invited by Flóris Rómer, Nagy worked as a student in the National Museum's Antiquities Collection from 1875 until 1881 and was then appointed as Keeper at the Székely National Museum in Sepsi-Szent-György, where he worked for the next eight years (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő). On 19th September 1889, Nagy returned to the National Museum's Antiquities Collection in Budapest as an intern and two years later was promoted to an assistant (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő). The following year Nagy married Helene Zaphiry, the widow of Elek Csetneki Jelenik, and a talented student of the composer Franz Liszt (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő).

During the 1896 millennial exhibition in Budapest, Nagy gave lectures on ancient history in his sub-group, as well as co-writing and publishing that history with an Academy member, Sándor Matlekovits (1842—1925)[89] (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő). In 1900 Nagy was promoted again at the Museum and given the title of Keeper. One year later, he was appointed as Director of the Military History Collection, where he reorganised the collection and edited its catalogue (NORI, 2014: 8307).

On 10th May 1901, Nagy was elected as a Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő; Glatz, 2003: N). Over the coming years he developed

[89] Matlekovits was appointed a Corresponding member of the Academy in 1873, a Full member in 1910 and a Director in 1925, dying shortly thereafter (Glatz, 2003: 'M'). His occupation there is listed as an economist (Glatz, 2003: 'M').



Map SSM.3.13 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Géza Nagy

NB: Dashed line indicates weaker influence, Bold indicates significant associations, Groupings indicate separate layers

a theory that associated the Scythians with the Finno-Ugrians, and which he formalised in a text titled *A Skythák* [in English, *The Scythians*] (Nagy, 1909). In that text, Nagy apparently criticised what he termed the 'German science world' (that is, the ethnic-German linguists and historians) for their adherence to the view that the Scythians were nothing more than primitive remnants of Iranian Aryans or, at the very least, were of an Iranian patrilineage that have been the folk ancestors of the Latvian Slavs (Nagy, 1909: 3, fn1; Csallány, 1959: 52). Nagy rather saw the Scythians as ancestors of the Magyars (Nagy, 1909).

A prolific writer during his life, in addition to *A Skythák*, Nagy published 42 articles in the *Ethnográphia* journal and 25 articles in the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* journal between 1880 and 1912, in addition to other articles and texts (Szinnyei, 1902: Nabiach-Nyürő). Following Hampel's death in 1913, Nagy was appointed Editor of the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* journal and held that position for the remainder of his own life (Nagy, 1913—1915). On 3rd February 1915, aged 59 years, Nagy died in Budapest (Kozák, 2013: "Nagy Géza - régész, etnográfus") and was buried at Kerepesi Cemetery (Grave 18/1, N/A,2,5).

Comment

By the time Nagy was conducting most of this work, the Ugric-Turkic War was already more than two decades old and much had been written on all sides of the conflict. While Nagy was a protégé of Rómer, which may explain why he was only elected to membership of the Academy after both Rómer and Pulszky had died, his later published views on a Scythian-Iranian Magyar ethnogenesis (Nagy, 1909) were more closely aligned with those of Pulszky, than with Rómer. Had Pulszky and Rómer lived to read that publication, their reactions to it may have been quite different. Nagy aligned himself with Pulszky, complaining about the attitudes of the 'Germans' to his own views, but also aligned himself with Vámbéry in his correspondence with him in 1904. In 1959, Géza Csallány published a collection of correspondence between Nagy and András Jósa, in which Nagy also referred to the Germans' attitude towards the Scythians, highlighting József Hampel and Paul Reinecke (1872—1958) in that vein (Csallány, 1959: 52). Jósa's response to those letters was not recorded in the accessible literature, although as indicated in his profile he may have been more reticent in his responses to Nagy, given his high regard for Rómer and his own tacit support for the Uralic theory in his Bezdéd report.

In discussing the contribution of Nagy to Hungarian archaeological research and publication, archaeologist Péter Langó described Nagy as the "undisciplined Hungarian-spotter [whose] work and the ideas behind it reflects *[sic]* well the political ideas at the turn of the 19th—20th centuries"

(Langó, 2005: 205). What Lángó meant by this statement was unclear. However, it could be assumed that he was referring, at least in part, to Nagy's Scythian-Iranian theory, and was attempting to discredit it as outdated, and therefore, irrelevant.

The Scholars did not Work in Isolation

In this chapter, I have discussed the lives and work of the individual scholars, mapping their important linkages – both personal and professional. In all cases, it was apparent that the scholars did not work in isolation, but were influenced by a range of other individuals, both among the cohort and outside of it, in the form of parents, relatives, mentors, or friends, as well as by opportunities presented to them through their employment and social activities.

In doing so, I also identified a number of tri-partite relationships that suggested motivations for the views and actions of their participants that might not normally be readily discernible from their individual writings or regular biographies. While developing their biographical profiles, the study also found that the involvements of the scholars with a number of institutions, namely the Imperial Habsburg Court in Vienna, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, had affected their respective lives and views to varying degrees. Furthermore, several major events (the 1848—49 Revolution, the 1867 Compromise, and the 1896 Millennial Celebrations of the Magyars' first arrival in the Carpathian Basin) were identified as having had a significant impact on the lives of some of the scholars.

In the next chapter, I present an overview of those institutions and events that were identified across the biographical profiles as key influences on the scholars and consider the linkages of those institutions and events across the whole cohort of them.

Chapter 4

Key Institutions and Major Events

Several commonalities appeared whilst compiling the biographical profiles of the scholars, including shared institutions and major events, and prominent figures with whom they interacted – each having had the means and potential to influence the scholars' ideas and interpretations of their linguistic or archaeological data. In some cases, as shown in Chapter 3, the prominent figures associated with the early Hungarian linguists, such as Hell with Sajnovics and Schlözer with Gyarmathi, had played a direct and explicit influencing role in their lives and views, even to the extent of significantly altering their published conclusions, as in the key word change from 'Lapp' to 'Finn' in Gyarmathi's *Affinitas* recommended by Schlözer. Whereas, in other cases, a level of influence could be inferred, such as Hampel's treatment of Pulszky's adverse comments about German scholars. The end of Hunfalvy's friendship with Vámbéry could also be directly attributed to the newer friendship between Hunfalvy and Budenz.

However, these 'one-on-one' associations between individual scholars may not have been the sole influences on their views. In this chapter, the key institutions and major events that had roles in shaping their lives and views are outlined. Following a brief outline of each institution and its role in the ethnogenetic issue, the institutions are brought together with the biographical profiles of the scholars in a further layer of Social Stratigraphic Maps and, where linkages have been observed, these have been aligned chronologically with the major events.

The Key Institutions

The institutions appearing most consistently in the biographical profiles were either political, social, religious or educational institutions, but often traversed those boundaries and, in doing so, created a highly-interwoven and complex environment for the scholars and their work. The three institutions that appeared most often, with the most opportunity to affect the scholars' attitudes, were the Habsburg Imperial Court through the Office of the Palatine, the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary, and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. These key institutions are now discussed.

The Habsburg Imperial Court and Office of the Palatine

As noted earlier, Habsburg rule over the Kingdom began in the 1500s and continued until 1918 (Molnár, 2001: xiii, xv). In the research period, the Empire's multi-ethnic population experienced

six changes in ruler – Maria-Theresa (1740–1780), Joseph II (1780—1790), Leopold II (1790—1792), Franz I (1792—1835), Ferdinand V (1835—1848), and Franz Joseph I (1848—1916) (Molnár, 2001: xiii—vv), each with a markedly different governing style. Maria-Theresa, Leopold II, Franz I and Ferdinand V all attempted political and social reforms with varying degrees of success (Taylor, 1964: 19, 23—26). For example, Maria-Theresa's political reforms were limited to Austria, omitting Hungary, while her economic reforms impacted heavily on Hungary (Taylor, 1964: 19). On the other hand, Josef II and Franz Josef I adopted strong absolutist approaches, limiting the rights of their citizens with, Josef in particular, encroaching on every aspect of his Empire's operation (Taylor, 1964: 20, 22). It appears, however, that all shared one trait - the intent to keep the various ethnicities within the Empire firmly under their control, especially the Hungarians. In this latter respect the position of Palatine [in Magyar, Nádor] served a useful purpose. Created in the earliest days of the Magyar Kingdom, the Palatine was initially an adviser to the King, then later became his representative, and finally had authority almost to the level of a Regent, with the power to make most decisions autonomously.[90] By using the Palatine role, and appointing Habsburg family members to it, the Habsburg Emperors could choose when and how to impose their views on the people and when to leave the handling of that relationship to the Palatine unencumbered. However, when control by words proved inadequate, military force was an useful option, with the Emperor rallying support from allies when needed, as in the 1848—49 Hungarian Revolution in Hungary (discussed earlier and elaborated on later in this chapter). As discussed earlier, several scholars profiled in Chapter 3 had direct combat roles in that conflict, while others took no direct part but lived through its harsh physical and political fallout. It would be reasonable to accept that the lives and work of all those scholars had been influenced to some extent by their involvement.

Some rulers also used economic controls. Maria-Theresa required all goods produced in Hungary for external consumption to be sold via Austrian markets, while all externally-produced goods for import to Hungary had to be purchased through Vienna, which controlled both import and export prices (Taylor, 1964: 19). In contrast, Josef II freed the serfs, abolished the *Robot* (a labour-rent payment), and enabled the peasantry to own land or sell it within their own class, thereby preventing the nobility from acquiring it (Taylor, 1964: 23).

Another method of control was social, again by direct and indirect methods. One subtle indirect method was the influence of the military-style clothing fashion encouraged within the Court that

[90] For various explanations of the history, role and powers of the Palatine, see Sedlar (1994: 272—273), Engel (2001: 41, 62, 92, 125—126), Bartl (2002: 282), Berend, Urbánczyk & Wiszewski (2013: 218—219, 425—426), and Szőcs (2014).

spread beyond its immediate circle and was observable in clothing worn by several scholars – especially Jankowich, but also, to a degree, Hunfalvy and his friend, Reguly. A more overt and direct method was the imposition of conditions on organisations to permit their existence, as will be discussed later in this chapter regarding the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Language was another social control mechanism, as with the decree by Josef II for German to replace Latin as the official language in Hungary and be a requisite for election to the Hungarian Diet, for public appointment, or for admission to secondary education (Taylor, 1964: 27; Endrey, 1982: 286; Molnár, 2001: 157). In this way, Josef severely limited opportunities for average Magyars to participate in their Kingdom's affairs (Endrey, 1982: 286; Molnár, 2001: 157). While lasting only three years, the policy's effect was much longer-lasting. Although the Magyar language could be freely used after 1787, it was not commonly spoken among the Hungarian nobility who still largely preferred German, especially those attending the Viennese Court, nor among the merchant-class in the predominantly-German-speaking towns (Taylor, 1964: 26, 27). As such, most linguists were not yet focussed on advancing research into Magyar's linguistic origins, with the earlier efforts of Sajnovics among the few. It was almost a decade after Leopold died in 1790, when Gyarmathi began his research, and many years later again before Magyar vocabulary and spelling were standardised in the late Nineteenth Century, enabling the language to become ubiquitous (Endrey, 1982: 293; Molnár, 2001: 164—165).

Consequently, it could be said that the Imperial Court's preference for the German language inspired scholarly interest in the Magyar language which, in turn, instigated the development of many theories of Magyar linguistic origin, including the Uralic theory. At the same time, as noted in earlier chapters, the theory's opponents have claimed the Uralic theory was promoted by some Germanic scholars to support the Habsburgs' anti-Hungarian policies. Also as indicated earlier, while perhaps excessive, this idea of selective interpretation bordering on bias, cannot be totally dismissed.

The Roman Catholic Church in Hungary and the State

The Rise of Roman Catholicism in the Magyar Kingdom

Árpád and his immediate successors had maintained the shamanistic rituals of their ancestors of sacrificing animals to their god, Isten, and determining their actions in accordance with the 'signs' interpreted by the shaman (Hoppal, 1975: 225, 2005: 27—28). However, surrounded by other groups, including Moravian Slavs, Franks, Avars and Bulgars, many of whom were

Christians or Moslems (Kenesei, 2009: 63), the Magyars, with their shamanistic beliefs and seemingly unintelligible language in which they carried out their rituals, could be expected to have been under constant suspicion and threat from their neighbours.

Taksony, a grandson of Árpád, realised change was needed (Endrey, 1982; Molnár, 2001), and, in 960CE, sent emissaries to the Roman Catholic Pope, John XII (r. 955—964), seeking to secure stability for his territory following a long period of tension between the Magyars and their German neighbours (Endrey, 1982: 51). When Taksony died in 972CE, his son, Géza (r. 972—997) became leader (Molnár, 2001: 18; Endrey, 1982: 52). Seeing the political situation as still tenuous and needing strong allegiances for his people's continued survival and prosperity, Géza realised that, to gain the support of the powerful Roman Catholic Church, he had to demonstrate a commitment to its beliefs and laws (Molnár, 2001: 18—20; Endrey, 1982: 52—53). He had the entire Royal household baptised by Bruno (or Prunwardi), the Bishop of St-Gallese (Endrey, 1982: 52—53; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 22; Molnár, 2001: 18—19). Géza then began converting the people to Roman Catholicism, initially using zealous priests from the diocese of Passau, but later the services of Adalbert, Bishop of Prague (Endrey, 1982: 54). Molnár noted that Geza's motives were "essentially political and his methods more violent than pious" (Molnár, 2001: 19), with Géza continuing to practice in private his earlier shamanistic rituals (Endrey, 1982: 53, 55; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 22—23).

Conversion took time, however, as the people's pagan beliefs and shamanistic rituals had been a major part of their self-identity (Endrey, 1982: 53, 61, 63; Molnár, 2001: 19). Having only partly completed the conversion process, Géza died in 997CE (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 23) and his son, Vajk (970—1038), became supreme leader, having successfully repelled a challenge by his cousin, Koppány, who had claimed the leadership role under the ancient Magyar custom of seniority (Endrey, 1982: 56; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 23—24; Molnár, 2001: 20). Baptised a Roman Catholic in childhood (Endrey, 1982: 53), Vajk adopted his father's political and religious policies, applying them with greater zeal (Endrey, 1982: 57). Rigorously, and sometimes violently, advancing the people's conversion to Roman Catholicism, Vajk was rewarded for his diligence with a Royal Crown sent from the Pope, Sylvester II (r. 999—1003CE) (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 20). Vajk was formally crowned King on 1 January 1001CE at Székesfehérvár, taking the new name King István I (Endrey, 1982: 58; Balázs and Szelényi, 1989: 20, 25a; Dienes, 1972:79, after Györffy).

Following his coronation, the new king accelerated the conversion process (Endrey, 1982: 57—59). The Jósa András Museum *Évkönyv*e [in English, 'it's Yearbook'] of 1969—1971 records that,

in 1816, András Vitéz, Canon of Rozsnyó and Judge of Gomor-Kishont County, found a document titled *Vatican, 1000, C.A.L. Oct. Diefesto Jac AP* in the Szilássy family archives, which described a law imposed by István I ordering the removal and destruction of all writings in the Magyar, Sekler or Cumanian runic scripts (Csallány, 1972: 135-160; Jánosi, 1978: 225-254). Decreeing the use of only Latin script, István offered incentives to Christian priests to learn Latin, while imposing penalties (loss of rights and heavy fines) on those who continued using the 'pagan' script (Csallány, 1972: 135-160; Jánosi, 1978: 225-254), "so that the desire to return to the ancient pagan religion will be quenched" (Csallány, 1972: 135-160; Jánosi, 1978: 225-254). István also assumed the role of 'Defender of the Faith' on the Church's eastern frontier and, following his death in 1038, the Roman Catholic Church recognised his conversion efforts, canonizing him in 1083 as Hungary's first official saint (Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 30)

However, their forced conversion to Roman Catholicism encountered resistance among the people (Molnár, 2001: 19). In one instance in 1046, a Venetian bishop, Gerard Sagredo (a.k.a. Gerhard or Gellért), who had tutored István's son, Prince Imre, and had been a major participant in the conversion process, was murdered by unknown 'locals' (Balázs & Szelényi, 1908: 28—29; Engel, 2001: 45). Bishop Sagredo and Prince Imre (who had died earlier in a hunting accident) were also canonized (Endrey, 1982: 63; Balázs & Szelényi, 1989: 31—32), further strengthening the close ties between State and Church.

Later Church Involvement in the Kingdom's Affairs

In 1222, King András II (r. 1205-1235) was forced by armed 'lesser noblemen' to issue the first *Golden Bull*, a royal decree enshrining the rights of the nobility (Besenyei *et al,* 1999; Molnár, 2001: 33). Those rights were: freedom from arrest without a Court judgment; immunity from taxation and from military service (except in a defensive war under the King's command); the right to invoke the King's personal jurisdiction; and, if the King breached the agreement, the right of armed resistance without a charge of treason (Taylor, 1964: 17—18; Endrey, 1982: 113; Rady, 2014: 87—108). While favoured by the lesser nobility, the Catholic Church and some of the 'higher nobility' disagreed with the decree, which they viewed as a sudden and undesirable increase in the political influence of the lesser nobles (Molnár, 2001: 33, 43). To counter this perceived threat, the higher nobles conspired through Prince Béla, son of András, in a failed attempt to dethrone his father (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 55).

Pope Gregory IX (r. 1227-1241) also was "alarmed at the erosion of royal powers" (Endrey, 1982: 113) created by the Bull, as it effectively lessened the Church's influence in the Kingdom, tied as

the Church was to the institution of the Monarchy. However, the Church's efforts to shore up its position met with only limited success. Between 1222 and 1230, the political situation in the Kingdom vacillated between periods of relative stability and outright conflict, so that by 1231, the situation had deteriorated to the point where a further "armed assembly of irate noblemen" (Endrey, 1982: 114) demanded a second and more detailed Bull be issued.

This second Bull pleased the Church, which was tasked with supervising and enforcing the King's compliance (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 55, 56). András II baulked and the Bishop of Esztergom, representing the Pope, imposed religious sanctions to rein in his ambitions, including excommunicating him for his "continued employment of Moslem and Jewish moneylenders" (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 55—56). András appealed to the Pope and a *Concordat* was negotiated at Bereg (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 56) that regulated the Church's right to interfere in political decisions, while appeasing the Church by restricting the "public activities of Jews and Mohammedans" (Endrey, 1982: 115).

The immediate and long-term impact of the two Bulls were their constitutional entrenchment of the rights of the nobility, rights which continued to be invoked by the nobility well into the Nineteenth Century (Molnár, 2001: 151), and the cementing of the power of the Church in the Kingdom (Pamlényi *et al*, 1975: 55; Molnár, 2001: 36—38). A further long-term effect was the precedent it set for "the initiation of legislation by popular assembly" (Endrey, 1982: 115) and the formation of a parliamentary system of government in Hungary.

When King László V died in November 1457 leaving no heir, János Hunyadi Jnr. was elected by the Diet to become King Mátyás I (Endrey, 1982: 181; Molnár, 2001: 67). The Roman Catholic Church played a major role in his reign, as it was with the Church's approval that the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III assumed the Magyar Crown at the same time, creating a political crisis for Mátyás (Molnár, 2001: 67). However, in 1463, for political expediency the Church then reneged and with the aid of Pope Pius II, Frederick surrendered the Crown to Mátyás "for a payment of 80,000 pieces of gold" (Endrey, 1982: 182; Molnár, 2001: 70), while retaining rights to some fortresses and titles in the Kingdom (Endrey, 1982: 182).

From 1720 to 1800, under first Karl III and then Maria-Theresa, ethnic Germans were resettled *en masse* into the Kingdom (see Chapter 2), altering its demography and reducing Magyar control over the territory. With the influx of further new immigrants including adherents of Orthodoxy, the Uniate churches (Greek, Romanian and Serbian), Armenian Christians and Jews, the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy lost some of its influence among the population (Molnár,

2001: 148-149). However, a devoted Catholic, Maria-Theresa still wanted Roman Catholicism as the State Religion and established a special committee of Catholic devotees to oversee the practice and expansion of the religion within the Kingdom (Endrey, 1982: 292—283). The committee's zeal significantly limited opportunities to construct or restore buildings dedicated to non-Catholic religions, including Calvinism, which by now had also established a sizeable base of devotees in the East of the Kingdom (Endrey, 1982: 292—283).

While Catholicism had been the Kingdom's main religion since István I, over time many Catholics had become disillusioned with the Church's reticence to defend the people against their adversaries, particularly during the long Ottoman years, and large numbers had converted to the seemingly more sympathetic Protestant faiths, Lutheranism and Calvinism (Molnár, 2001: 21-28, 38, 53, 70, 107—109). However, the staunch efforts of some Jesuit priests brought on a Counter-reformation and many reverted to Roman Catholicism (Molnár, 2001: 109, 123—124).[91] With the Empress focussed on Catholicism and the Church positively responding to her attention, suspicions arose in the Kingdom that the Catholic Church was becoming too close an ally to what they saw as the 'foreign' Imperial government. Nevertheless, her reign was a relatively stable period for the Kingdom, with the Empress largely admired by its people (Endrey, 1982: 284) and the Revolution of 1848—49 not yet on the political horizon.

The Catholic Church also featured in the plans of Josef II, but not with the same devotion to its religious dominance as his mother Maria-Theresa had held. Instead, while expanding the Church's position in the Empire's social structure, Josef placed controls over its activities and abolished discrimination against other religions through his *Edict of Religious Tolerance* (Molnár, 2001: 157).

As indicated in the scholars' biographical profiles in Chapter 3, the Church's involvement in the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis was evidenced in the work of some of the scholars, beginning with the two Jesuit priests, Sajnovics, who carried out the research with the Lapps, and his mentor, Hell, who instigated and supported that research. That involvement continued into the Nineteenth Century with the later activities of the Benedictine prelate, Rómer, and his strong influence over Jósa, as well as Jósa's own upbringing, with his father a former Church dignitary. Érdy had also entered a monastery for a brief period, which may have influenced his views to some degree, although his profile was unclear in that latter regard. Even more so than the

[91] Molnár also noted that: "In the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church owned around 15 per cent of the entire country but, as the centuries passed, it became the single largest landed property owner" (Molnár, 2001: 38), indicating that the wealth and power of the Catholic Church were growing commensurately.

individual efforts of these scholars, the Roman Catholic Church as a body also had significant influence with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, as will be shown in the next section.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences

As noted earlier, the Habsburg Emperors and the Catholic Church had strong connections with each other for several centuries. Under its original Charter, the Emperor also had control over the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS, 2016b & c), the peak institution in Nineteenth-century Hungary for the development and promotion of scientific advances. The Roman Catholic Church, as will be shown, was also strongly represented in the membership and decision-making of the Academy in that period.

In 1808, Act VII of the Hungarian Diet noted the need for a "scholarly society" (Rekettye, 2010; Boletin 3; HAS, 2016b). However, no formal action was undertaken until, in 1823, Count István Széchenyi offered a year of his personal income towards financing its establishment (Endrey, 1982: 297; Molnár, 2001: 171; IAP, 2013: 12402; HAS, 2016b). His offer prompted three other wealthy men - Ábrahám Vay (1789—1855), Count György Andrássy (1797—1872), and Count György Károlyi (1802—1877) - also to offer funds (HAS, 2016b). Together, the four men drafted a Charter and structure for a new Hungarian Learned Society (renamed in 1844 as the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and petitioned the Palatine,[92] who approved the Charter with some modifications later that year and became the Society's patron (Glatz, 2003). Under the modified Charter, the Palatine, acting for the Emperor, approved nominations to the institution's presidency and could veto any matter he saw as undesirable (HAS, 2016b & c).

The new institution opened in 1830 with a 24-member Board of Directors and 21 other members. Its President, Vice-President and Secretary respectively were the noblemen Count József Teleki, Count István Széchenyi and Gábor Döbrentei (a writer, literary translator and publicist) (HAS, 2016b).[93]

The modified Charter also stipulated that members should not engage in political activities (HAS, 2016b) – a condition which must have been extremely difficult for the new Board members to uphold, given that 18 were politicians (Glatz, 2003), whose occupations required them to attend meetings of the Hungarian Diet and participate in political activities. Although not stated in any literature about the early days of the Academy, this stipulation was clearly intended by Emperor Franz I (1792—1835) to assist in controlling the sometimes-errant Hungarian Diet through the

[92] The Palatine at the time was the Archduke Josef Anton Johann Habsburg–Lotharingian (1776–1847) (Glatz, 2003).
[93] Ferenc Toldy (a physician and literary historian) replaced Döbrentei as secretary after five years (HAS, 2016b).

new institution. It is difficult to know how successful the strategy was, but later efforts by the Academy's leadership to amend its rules and regulations (Rekettye, 2010; Boletin 3; HAS, 2016b & c) to limit the control of subsequent Emperors suggest that, initially at least, the strategy by Franz I achieved some of his desired aims.[94] Also, while initially the Emperor only rarely provided funding to the Academy,[95] allocation of funding for work was indirectly also subject to his approval, as he could remove his support for the Academy and cause it to cease functioning if, at any time, he disapproved of any aspect of its work (HAS, 2016b). Thus, it could be said that those early scholars who were Academy members, of necessity, were influenced publicly, even if not privately, by the views of the Emperor in both their work choices and published interpretations.

Imperial control over the Academy, however, appears not to have deterred new members from joining. In its first decade, the Academy acquired 219 new members, including three new Directors (two politicians and one Roman Catholic prelate)[96] (Glatz, 2003). Examination of its membership listing from 1831 to 1900 showed that, in addition to three Archdukes who were successive patrons of the Academy and listed themselves as politicians, 127 other members also listed 'politician' among their various occupations (Glatz, 2003). Of these, 115 were Hungarians and 12 were foreigners[97] holding either Honorary or External membership (Glatz, 2003).

Whilst the position of Director was open to any qualified member (that is, a Hungarian citizen with Full or Honorary status, or deemed eligible to hold such status), analysis of the membership list (Glatz, 2003) showed that the largest single occupational group for Directors in the Nineteenth Century was 'politician' (13.5 per cent). It also showed that, between 1830 and 1900, 71.19 percent[98] of new members appointed as Directors on joining were politicians, with a further 23 politicians having been promoted to Director status later in their memberships (see Appendix 11). This indicated that a politician had a substantially greater likelihood of becoming a Director than a member from any other occupational group. Apart from Directors, 47 other

[94] The current rules of the Academy were set and published on 4 May 2015. They outline the current procedures for new membership. (see "Az Akadémikusválasztás Eljárási Szabályai", online at MTA website: http://mta.hu/data/dokumentumok/hatteranyagok/2016_evi_akademikusvalasztas_elj_szab.pdf). In addition, according to the Academy's current rules, new members are elected every three years by a meeting of the Academy. Age and category restrictions apply, with strict maximum numbers in each category (see Clause 2.1 of "Az Akadémikusválasztás Eljárási Szabályai").

[95] Agnes Kelecsényi notes the Academy began receiving state aid "albeit a modest amount" from 1868 (Kelecsényi, 2007: 5).

[96] Following the Compromise with Austria in 1867, the Emperor's control over the Academy was loosened and the Academy was able to have greater control over its actions and decisions-making. (Fónagy, Zoltán & János Pótó, 2017a & b).

[97] Of the 12 foreign members, 4 were French, 2 British, 2 German, 1 Czech, 1 Italian, 1 Finnish, and 1 Serbian (see Glatz, 2003).

[98] Between 1830 and 1900, out of the 59 members appointed as directors immediately on joining, 42 were politicians (see Appendix 11).

members also listed politician among their occupations, meaning that, of the 941 members joining between 1830 and 1900, more than one in eight were politicians, with most becoming Directors at some point.

The second largest single 'occupation' group for Directors was prelate in the Roman Catholic Church. Nine prelates were given Director status immediately upon joining, while a further four out of 18 others who joined (22.2 per cent), were promoted to Director status during their memberships. In total, 27 Roman Catholic prelates held Academy membership in that 71-years period, and almost half were appointed as Directors to the Board either immediately upon joining or soon thereafter.

As with the politicians, this high proportion of Directors from the Catholic Church compared to the total size of the membership cohort suggested that Catholic prelates were encouraged by others to join the Academy, with invitations extended to them frequently resulting in Directorships.

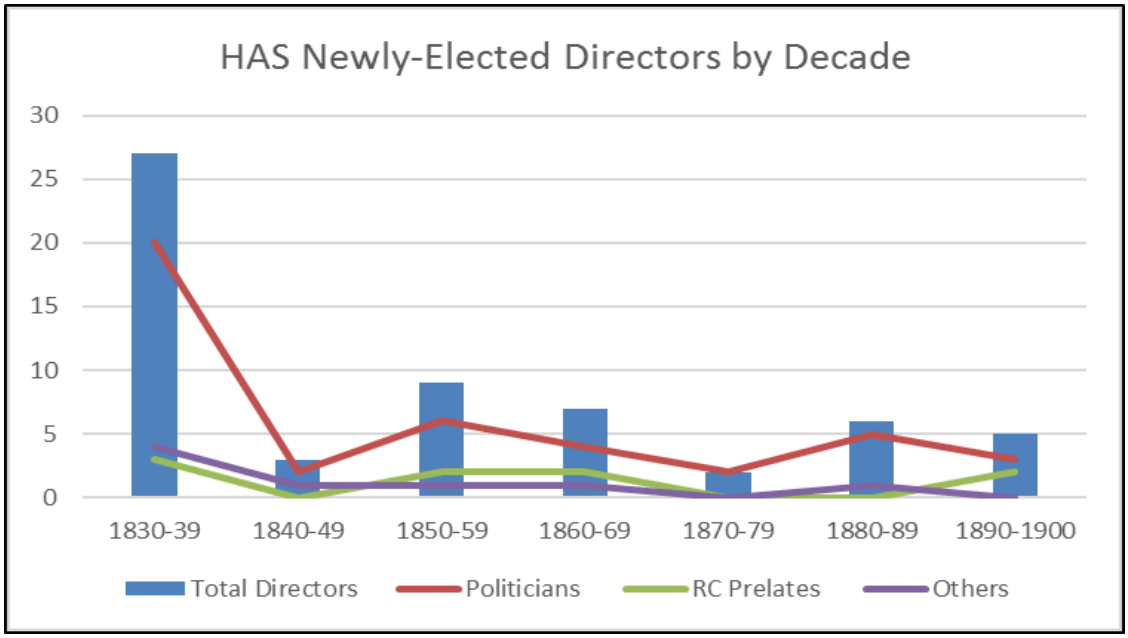


Fig.4.1 – Number of Newly-Elected Directors to the Board of the Academy 1830-1900, showing a continuing preference for politicians as Directors in all decades.
- Chart created with information compiled by the Author from Glatz (2003)

Figure 4.1 above shows a clear preference for the appointment of these two occupational groups to the Board of Directors immediately upon their joining. This preference may well have resulted from the inaugural Board members inviting fellow politicians and prelates they knew to become members and electing those who accepted the invitation. As well, politicians and prelates seeking to join the Board may have curried the favour of those colleagues whom they knew were

already on the Board. In other words, the Board in those early years was populated largely by those with the 'right connections' among the nobility and higher clergy. Through their contributions to the Board, both the Habsburg Imperial Court and the Roman Catholic Church played direct roles in determining and implementing the decisions of the Academy with regard to its research interests and efforts and the election of new non-Board members.

Subsequent decades saw Academy membership across all fields continue to grow, albeit more slowly, despite a 10-year ban on new members imposed by the Palatine due to the 1848—49 Revolution, following which he prescribed additional controls on its activities (HAS, 2016b). The ban ended with a major membership drive in 1858 that secured 105 new members in that year alone (Glatz, 2003). With the ban lifted, in 1858 the Academy also created a new Archaeological Committee "for the systematic investigation and safe-guarding of the relics from the past" (Ernyey, 2003: 419). The new Committee "organised, and...carried out, the collection of finds that turned up accidentally...authenticated the sites, drafted comprehensive professional policies, sponsored excavations, processed materials, performed publishing activities, popularized archaeology and saw to...monument preservation until 1872, when an independent national monuments board was formed" (Ernyey, 2003: 419). As noted in Chapter 3, Tivadar Lehoczky, although not a professional archaeologist, was appointed to that national monuments board in 1876.

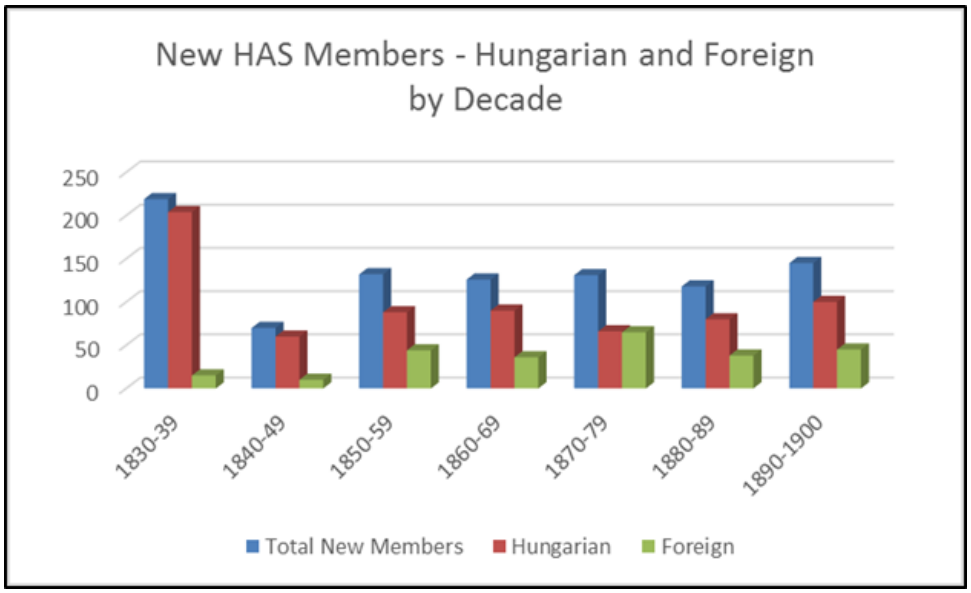


Fig.4.2 – Number of new Academy members per decade, showing the majority in most decades being Hungarians (NB: Austrians were classed as 'foreign')
- Chart created with information compiled by the Author from Glatz (2003)

In subsequent years, an average of 12 new members were elected to the Academy each year (derived from Glatz, 2003). Fifty-nine new Directors were elected (Glatz, 2003), of which 71.2 percent were politicians and 15.25 percent were Roman Catholic Church officials (Glatz, 2003), indicating that, although the overall membership demographic broadened significantly as numbers increased, the leadership composition remained largely the same.

Worth noting also is that, while the Palatine was an Austrian Habsburg with significant control over the Academy in its early days, other Austrian nationals were classed as 'foreign' and their membership listed as such (see Glatz, 2003). Consequently, under the Academy's rules they were ineligible to become Full members (i.e. to have voting rights) or to become Directors.[99]

In 1869, the Academy's rules were changed, removing the patronage of the Palatine, thereby loosening Imperial controls over its activities and altering the election processes for its Board (HAS, 2016b & c).

The Academy and Magyar Ethnogenesis

With regard to the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis, the founders of the Academy had intended it to take a leading role in advancing the use of the Magyar language in Hungary, as expressed in its original Charter: "the development of the Hungarian language and the study and propagation of the sciences and the arts in Hungarian" (HAS, 2016b). The last two words "in Hungarian" are significant. In its 17 years of operation before the 1848—49 Revolution, the Academy's focus was on developing the Magyar language, which, as already noted, had largely been spoken by the lower classes until that time, while the upper classes had used Latin for their administrative writing and German mostly for their general conversation (Taylor, 1964: 26). The Academy's focus on developing and promoting the Magyar language was intended to redress that situation (HAS, 2016b).

Noting that membership was by invitation to election only (HAS, 2016a: 106125), further analysis of the Academy's membership lists for the years 1831-1900 (Glatz, 2003) showed 111 linguists became new members, almost one in eight of new members yearly, making linguists a major occupational group, in line with the Academy's stated focus on the Magyar language.

In that same period, only 31 archaeologists became members, and only half of those were Hungarians (HAS, 2016b), which might suggest the Academy at that stage was not as focussed on promoting the material culture of Magyars. However, the low number of new archaeologist

[99] See the HAS website for current membership rules, which, although updated, still reflect the initial views of its founders - http://mta.hu/data/dokumentumok/hatteranyagok/2016_evi_akademikusvalasztas_elj_szab.pdf.

members compared to linguists could be explained by the early stage in the development of archaeology as a discipline, meaning there were few professional or semi-professional archaeologists in Hungary at the time from which to seek new members, and even fewer among the existing membership to propose and support their election. Five of the eight early reporters and commentators on the six artefact assemblages were listed as archaeologist members, almost a third of the total cohort of Hungarian archaeologists. Of those, only Pulszky rose to Director status (HAS, 2016a: 106125), with that promotion having only occurred after 35 years of membership (Glatz, 2003).

Today the role of the Academy in the lives of Hungarian scholars has considerably waned from its earliest days, although it still holds an important place in Hungarian academic life, granting membership only to those scholars it considers of the highest order of scholarship and status within Hungary and continuing its recruitment by election only (HAS, 2016a: 106125). The Academy also controls the granting of doctorates, thereby retaining some control over Hungarian scholars seeking to advance their careers within Hungary (HAS, 2016b).

The Academy's current Mission Statement focuses on the cultivation and research of the sciences, making its professional views public when requested by the Government (HAS, 2016a: 106125, 2016c). It assists the development of language and science cultivation in Hungarian, preserving the purity of scientific life and freedom of scientific research, keeping links with research in Hungarian in other countries and making its results known to society (HAS, 2016a: 106125, 2016c). Thus, the focus has shifted from primarily developing and promoting the Magyar language to a stronger general science focus, with language now only one aspect of that.

The Major Events

A range of major political, social and economic changes occurred in Europe and globally during the 121 years from 1779 to 1900, including several wars and revolutions (see Molnár, 2001: 156 on some of these events and key figures). During that time, Hungary experienced several momentous events that, in turn, affected its position within the Empire. As discussed in Chapter 3, three events were most prominent for the scholars in this study: the 1848—49 Revolution and its repressive aftermath; the 1867 Compromise establishing the Dual Monarchy; and the 1896 Millennial Anniversary celebration of the Magyars' first arrival. Their impact on the scholars could be said to have directly or indirectly contributed towards bringing about the dominance of the Uralic theory.

The 1848—49 Revolution

The failed 1848—49 Revolution and its impact on the Academy's operations have already been noted. While the Revolution ultimately failed for the Magyars, and opinions differ on the cause of that failure (see Spira, 1973: 91—104 for a summary of the different views), Hungarians of all ethnicities were affected, spurring interest among the Magyars in their 'Magyar-ness', and sowing seeds of discontent among the other ethnic minorities in the Kingdom (Hidas, 1985: 194, 197; Hudek, 2011: 258, 260—261). Over subsequent decades, as the political situation calmed, although still with undertones of dissent, new museums opened in many towns, and attendances at them grew commensurably, as ordinary Hungarians wanted to learn more about their respective ethnic pasts (Zsidi, 2003: 418). Magyar style of dress also began appearing more among the upper classes, replacing the military-style previously popularised by the Austrian Court (Blum, 1979: 1, 4—5).

The 1867 Compromise and the Dual Monarchy

In 1867, other pressures within the Empire and beyond, forced Franz Joseph I to reconsider his relationship with Hungary and a Compromise was agreed in 1867, creating the new Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary (Molnár, 2001: 206—207). The Compromise deal, although apparently not universally supported in the Magyar Kingdom, was seen by its drafters, including Pulszky, who assisted Ferencz Deák in that task, as the best alternative to further military conflict (Molnár, 2001: 207—208). Later in this chapter and beyond, the effects of the period are discussed in detail.

For now, however, it is sufficient to note that, in the years before 1867, new archaeological finds had been made that tied Nineteenth-century Magyars to an ancestry receding more than 1000 years. Following the Compromise, increased economic activity prompted more road and rail construction and work on regulating the waterways in the Kingdom, which, in turn, brought to light many more finds (Fodor (1996e: 21), including a cemetery at Bezdéd (see Chapter 5) and progressively changed views over time.

Over the following decades, many claims were made about Magyar ethnic origins in regions outside the Carpathian Basin (as noted in Chapter 1). However, at that time of the Compromise, the known archaeology of the ancient Magyars was situated solely within the Carpathian Basin and dated to the Conquest and early post-Conquest eras (i.e. late 890s—mid-900s) (see Chapter 5). As noted earlier, only at the end of the Nineteenth Century were a few finds being made in the easterly direction claimed by the supporters of the Uralic theory.

The 1896 Millennial Anniversary of the Magyars' Arrival

In Hungary, the officially-proclaimed year of first arrival is 896CE, although some scholars have it as occurring in the autumn of 895 (e.g. Macartney, 1930: 188; Róna-Tas, 1999: xviii, 332—338, 397; Fodor, 1996e: 17). Proclamation of the year 896 was an arbitrary determination by politicians that was passed into law (*VIII Honalapitás Law Article 1896*) by the Hungarian House of Representatives on 21st April 1896 (Thaly, 1898). The proclamation resulted from the failure of a special committee established in 1895 to identify a firm date from a range of submitted options spanning a 12-year period at the end of the Ninth Century (Thaly, 1898). Hence, in 1896, the Hungarian Diet had to choose a date for the event and pass an enabling law entrenching its choice of 896 (exactly 1000 years earlier) as the year for 'first arrival' (Thaly, 1898). [100]

Thus, at the time that most of the scholars in this study were expressing their views on the ancient Magyars and their ethnogenesis, no firm date for the Magyars first arrival in the Carpathian Basin had yet been agreed and estimates had varied sometimes by decades. As a consequence of the 1896 parliamentary decision, celebrations for the Millennial Anniversary of the Magyars' first arrival, which the Hungarian Government had initially sought to commemorate in 1895, were finally settled and took place in 1896 (Thaly, 1898). Celebrations occurred all over the Kingdom, with a major Exhibition held in Budapest. Chapter 5 demonstrates that the commemoration of that Millennial Anniversary was a turning point in scholarly approaches to the Conquest Era and towards relics of the ancient Magyars from that period and earlier. That change in approach has had a lasting impact on modern scholarship on the issue but was not present in the words and views of the scholars who earlier had created and promoted the Uralic theory.

In that year, the first cemetery of finds in the Carpathian Basin, was made near the town of Tiszabezdéd, and attributed to the ancient Magyars (see Chapter 5). The site was hailed a major ancient Magyar discovery and over later decades became "well-known in Hungarian and international research" (Fodor, 1996d: 181). By that time, many smaller finds had already been made in the Carpathian Basin and had been claimed to support the views of the Uralic theorists (e.g. Vereb, Galgocz and Anarcs assemblages, see Chapter 5). Artefactual evidence from the Urals region was needed, but gathering of that evidence, however, would be still some years

[100] Scholars today also recognise that, despite the political decision in 1896 and the continued support for 896 by Hungarian officialdom, the precise year of 'first arrival' cannot be confirmed and is therefore often described as a range, e.g. 895-900 (Fodor, 1996e: 16-17; Molnár, 2001: xii) or 895-902 in three phases (Róna-Tas, 1999: 334). Sometimes the range is expressed as even broader to 862-970 and considers various movements of the Magyars into and around the Carpathian Basin (Györffy, 1994: 10). Therefore, it is preferable for the sake of accuracy to refer to the arrival of the Magyar group as having occurred sometime during the last decade of the Ninth Century.

away, with the first archaeological explorers only beginning to visit that region, and only minimal finds being made for many years.[101]

Correlating the Scholars and Influence Hubs with the Reporting

Having reviewed the biographic profiles of the scholars in Chapter 3 and briefly discussed the institutional and event hubs earlier in this chapter, the next task was to combine the two sets of data and ascertain any strong connections. (Sourced biographical and other information presented and cited in earlier chapters have not been repeated here unless a direct quote has been necessary. References to the scholars' maps are noted where appropriate.)

For this task, two additional sets of maps were created focussing on the influence 'hubs' identified in the scholars' profiles. The first (Maps SSM.4.1—3) aligned the activities of and contacts between the 13 scholars with the three institutions identified as their major influence 'hubs': the Habsburg Imperial Court (1770—1900), the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary (1770—1900), and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1831—1900). The second set (Maps SSM.4.4—6) aligned the activities and contacts of the scholars with the periods surrounding the three major-events: the 1848—49 Revolution in Hungary, the 1867 Compromise, and the 1896 Millennial Anniversary celebrations. Interwoven with these events was recognition of the public debate known as the Ugric-Turkic War (1861—1920) that directly involved three of the linguists (Hunfalvy, Budenz and Vámbéry), while indirectly affecting the other late Nineteenth-century scholars.

Here, judgments were made about the nature and strength of influence in each case. Two types of influence were noted – direct and indirect. 'Direct influence' was defined as influence from an individual mentor or other close personal contact, hereafter referred to as an influencer, that can be observed in the respective scholar's actions or decisions. An example of this was Schlözer's request to Gyarmathi to alter his conclusion from a Lapp affinity to a Finn one. 'Indirect influence' was defined as influence from a third party on an identified influencer, that then could be expected to have flowed through in some discernible way to the actions or decisions of the respective case study scholar. Here, an example could be the invitation from the Danish King to sponsor Hell and Sajnovics's trip to Vardö Island, perhaps having encouraged Hell to push Sajnovics towards a Scandinavian association with the Magyars. Where the influencer was an institution or event, it is referred to hereafter as an 'influence hub.' 'Direct influence' was assumed to have a stronger impact on the actions or decisions of a case study

[101] For examples of the first finds, see the work of Count Jenő Zichy, 1899, 1900—1905).

scholar than 'indirect influence', with a weighting of 1 to 4 given to the level of strength, with 1 defined as being a barely discernible level of influence and 4 being a visible change in the actions or decisions of the scholar resulting from contact with the influencer, although both forms of influence are considered in the next chapter with regard to the reporting of the artefacts. The maps presented in this section reflect those levels of influence, with solid red lines indicating the strongest-discernible direct influences and broken blue lines indicating the weakest, but still reasonably-expected, indirect influences.

The Habsburgs Influence Hub

As noted in Chapter 3, one Empress (Maria Theresa) and five Emperors (Josef II, Leopold II, Franz I, Ferdinand V and Franz Josef I) successively ruled the Austrian Empire during the period under study, including the Magyar Kingdom. Contacts between the Habsburg Monarchy and the 13 case study scholars took many forms, direct and indirect - in employment, in political associations and views, in research, and in pursuit of the tangible evidence of Magyar cultural heritage (see Map SSM.4.1). In addition to their specific influences on individual lives, all the case study scholars were of course impacted to a degree by the fact of their living under Habsburg rule and therefore being subject to its laws and policies.

Influence over the Eighteenth-Century Scholars

With the two Eighteenth-century scholars – Sajnovics and Gyarmathi – the influence of the four Monarchs of their time (Maria-Theresa, Josef II, Leopold II and Franz I) appears to have been minimal and only indirectly felt in the conduct of their linguistic research. The mentors of both scholars (Maximilian Hell and Augustus von Schlözer respectively) were the direct and prime influences on their research and conclusions.

Sajnovics (Map SSM.3.1) conducted his research in 1769 and published his *Demonstratio* text the following year, during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1740—1780). It is reasonable to suppose that he benefited indirectly from the patronage given by the Habsburg Court to his mentor, Hell, with greater attention paid by others to any support Hell gave to a view – in this case the 'Lapp-affinity' view in Sajnovics' *Demonstratio*. However, while the German-Hungarian Hell, as a renowned astronomer apparently had enjoyed the long-term patronage of the Habsburg Court, it was not the Habsburgs but the Danish king who had financed the trip to Vardö Island.

It is possible also that Hell's reputation and his favoured-status with the Habsburg Court, in turn, assisted the Danish King in deciding to seek out Hell's services. To secure those services, the Danish King had to agree to Hell's terms, which included the participation of Sajnovics. In that respect, Sajnovics would have benefited indirectly from Hell's association with the Habsburgs Court.

In the case of Gyarmathi (Map SSM.3.2), while Maria Theresa reigned during his early life, Josef II, Leopold II and Franz I were successively on the Habsburg throne during his maturity. Of those rulers, Emperor Josef II imposed German as the required language for officialdom and higher education in the late Eighteenth Century. With Latin having been the formal language of officialdom up to that point, the immediate imposition of German would have impacted heavily on the work of scholars with less proficiency in the German language.

Emperor Franz I reigned during the period when Gyarmathi studied at Göttingen University in Germany and wrote his *Affinitas* text. There is no evidence in Gyarmathi's profile (Map SSM.3.2) that Franz I or his Austrian Court directly influenced his writing or conclusions in any way. Instead, his mentor Schlözer had apparently already become convinced of a Magyar-Finn association before Gyarmathi began his research and then took some time to bring Gyarmathi around to that view. Having become convinced, Gyarmathi then zealously embraced it and proceeded to seek proof for it, including amending his conclusion in *Affinitas* to a Finn affinity, even though his research had led him to support Sajnovics' conclusion of a Lapp affinity. Thus, unlike Sajnovics, there is no evidence of a direct or indirect influence from the Habsburg hub.

Influence over the Nineteenth Century Scholars

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, for the 11 Nineteenth-century scholars, the situation was very different, with the Habsburgs having had significant impact on their lives and influence on their views. That influence, as shown, varied between *direct and profound* for Pulszky and Rómer and, to a slightly lesser extent, for Jósa and Lehoczky, and more by *third-party association* for Jankowich, Érdy, Hunfalvy, Budenz, Vámbéry, Hampel and, later, Nagy.

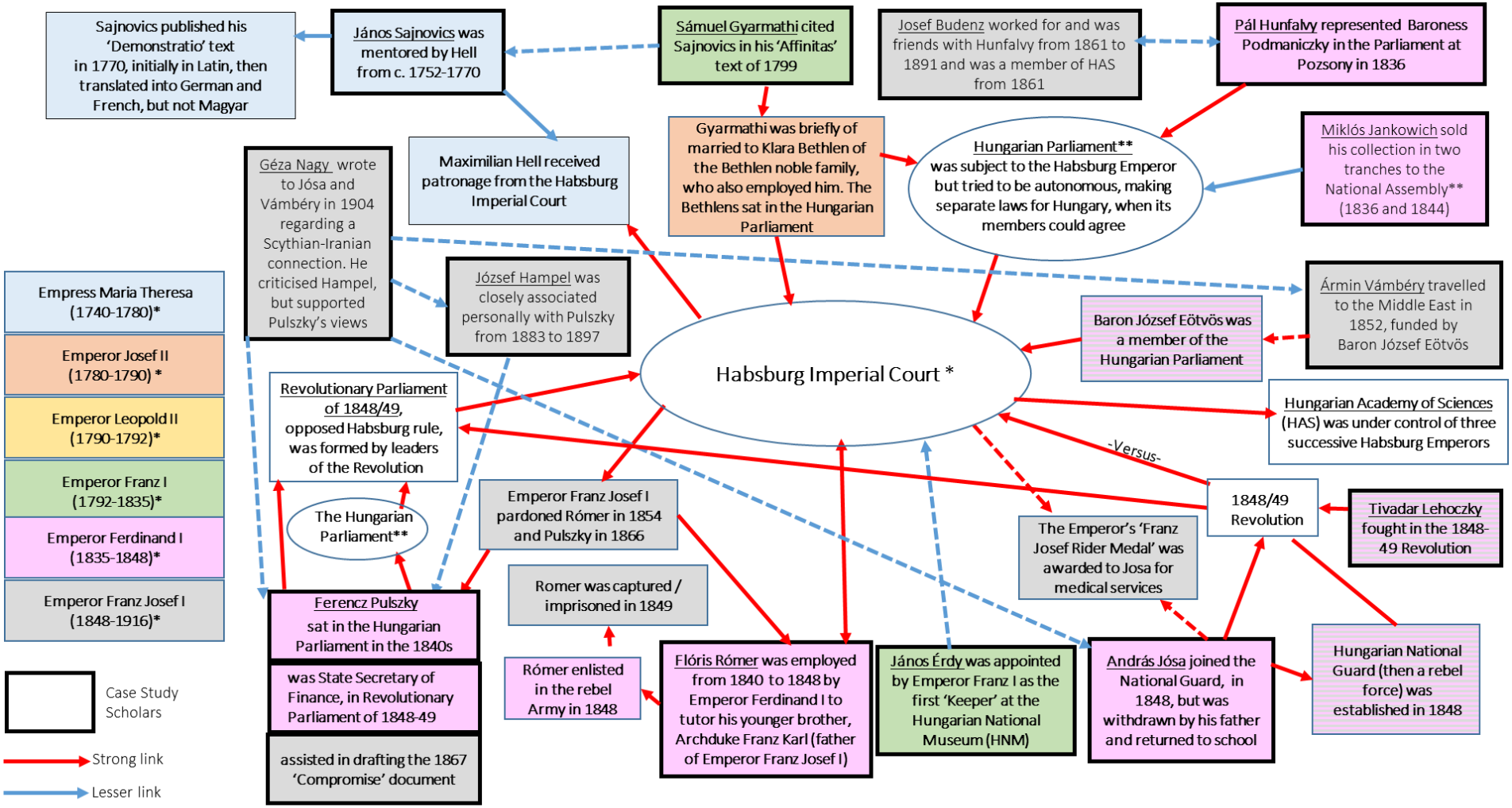
The scholar having had the most direct and profound contact with the Habsburgs was Rómer, who was employed by Emperor Ferdinand I to tutor Archduke Franz Karl in the eight years before the 1848—49 Revolution (Map SSM.3.8). Rómer would have seen at close quarters the political and social machinations of the Imperial Court. While the data are unclear on this aspect, Rómer's act of relinquishing his priesthood and enlisting in the Revolutionary army under a false name to fight for Magyar independence from Habsburg rule may have been prompted by what he saw

occurring at the Court. At the same time, Rómer, in turn, must have made a significant impact on his royal pupil, for the Archduke's son and next Emperor Franz Josef I (1848—1916) later granted Rómer an early release from prison. Following his release, Romer returned to the priesthood and did not participate in any further political activity. Instead he developed a successful career in Museum curatorial work and archaeology, including studying the Galgócz and Anarcs assemblages. The grant of an early release from prison may indeed have been conditional upon Rómer refraining from future political activity. Rómer's early release from prison may have had a long-term impact on his later work and relationships, particularly with Pulszky and Hampel.

The biographical profile (Map SSM.3.7) indicated that the life and work of Pulszky were also directly and profoundly impacted by the Habsburg Court. The major impact of the Habsburg hub on his life was clearly indicated by Pulszky's actions. First, there was his initial participation in the Hungarian Diet that was subordinate to the Emperor, which was followed by his political opposition to the Empire and subsequent 17 years in exile. That, in turn, was followed by his acceptance of a pardon from the Emperor and his resumption of political activity as a supporter of the continuation of Habsburg rule over the Kingdom in the modified form of a Dual-Monarchy.

As discussed in the section on Rómer, not only was Pulszky's life heavily impacted by his involvement with the Habsburg hub, but his professional association with Rómer after returning from exile, could be said also to have been influenced by the association of each with the Habsburgs.

Jósa's profile also showed a direct but slightly less profound impact from association with the Habsburg hub (Map SSM.3.12). As a youth in 1848, Jósa had enlisted to fight with the Revolutionary forces against Habsburg rule, but had been withdrawn by his father before he could go into battle. He was then sent to school in Transylvania and Vienna, presumably to keep him safely away from the fighting. There was no evidence of any special mentor at Vienna University or any event at that time that may have altered his outlook on life. However, his medical career blossomed to the degree that he was later awarded the Emperor Franz Josef's *Rider Cross Medal* for services to Medicine. At the same time, he also pursued an interest in archaeology that saw him work with his friend, Rómer, on the excavation of the Galgocz site in 1869 and the viewing of the Anarcs assemblage in 1870, and later as a team member and reporter of the Bezdéd cemetery excavation in 1896.



Map SSM.4.1 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Habsburg Imperial Court Connections to Scholars
NB: Colour indicates Imperial ruler at the time, Words indicate nature of association, Bold text indicates an association with the Habsburg Court

A fourth scholar, Lehoczky (Map SSM.3.10), also appeared directly, albeit slightly less profoundly, to have been influenced by the Habsburg hub in 1848, having enlisted in the Imperial Army that year and having fought in several battles before receiving his discharge in 1849. Upon leaving the Army, Lehoczky resumed his legal studies and completed his qualifications as he built a successful career in that profession. At the same time, he became heavily involved in historical and archaeological research and curatorial work, while also participating in several associated societies and working on the official Hungarian Monuments Committee in 1876.

Thus, of the four scholars already discussed, the lives of Rómer and Pulszky could be said to have been directly and profoundly impacted by the Habsburg Court from the late 1840s onwards, with major changes in their lives and careers ensuing from that association. On the other hand, Lehoczky appears to have been only temporarily impacted by the politics of the Revolution and then resumed his earlier path into the legal profession, while also immersing himself in historical and archaeological pursuits. Jósa, however, actively sought to participate militarily in the Revolutionary army, even though he was still only a youth, perhaps as a form of rebellion against a conservative home-life. His thwarted efforts apparently were redirected first towards a farming career and then towards a successful career in medicine, while also becoming involved in curatorial work, archaeological excavations and the publishing of finds.

Whereas these four scholars experienced and dealt with the 1848—49 Revolution and its aftermath from a direct political or military perspective, three other scholars (Érdy, Hunfalvy and Vámbéry), although not involved in the fighting, undoubtedly would have been impacted by the Revolution and by Emperor Franz Josef's imposition of absolutist rule following it. That absolutism greatly limited the Kingdom's ability to make decisions for itself for almost the next 20 years (refer to Chapter 2 on the impact of the Emperor's actions) and thereby constrained the activities of its population.

Training first as a Benedictine monk and then as a lawyer, rising to County Judge of Sopron (1816—1818), Map SSM.3.11 showed only one indirect and relatively weak association between Érdy and the Habsburg Court, with his appointment by Imperial assent to the first Keeper's position in the new National Museum building in 1846. The ethnic-German former János Lutzenbacher legally changed his surname to Érdi in 1848, although he is known now as Érdy. While no reason for his decision was specified in the literature, the coincidence of the name change having occurred in the same year as the outbreak of hostilities between the Hungarians and their Germanic rulers suggested that Érdy may have felt a need to identify more closely with the ethnic-Magyar majority in Hungary. Érdy's roles at the National Museum and the Academy

appeared to have continued to his retirement from the Museum in 1869. This suggested that avoidance of potential problems, either with his employment, or with work colleagues with Revolutionary sympathies, may have been a prime motivator for Érdy.

Map SSM.3.5 showed Hunfalvy had a brief indirect association with the Habsburg hub as a delegate to the Hungarian Diet in Pozsony in 1836, representing the recently-widowed Baroness Eliza Podmaniczky. Other than the one occasion, there was no indication that Hunfalvy had an involvement with the Habsburg Imperial Court. His profile, however, did indicate his membership of the Academy and the Kisfaludy Society, with the nobleman, Baron József Eötvös, as President of each (the Academy in 1866—1871 and the Kisfaludy Society in 1861—1867) during Hunfalvy's membership. That association may have exposed Hunfalvy to the reformist political views of the Baron regarding the Empire and its impact on Hungary. Furthermore, as he was a regular attendee at the Pulszky Salon meetings, it would be probable that Hunfalvy was familiar with Pulszky's political history and views. It would also be probable that the issue of an Ugric-Uralian association with the Magyars was discussed and debated at some of those meetings, especially from 1871 onwards, with Hunfalvy on the 'Ugric-Uralian' side of the debate and Pulszky opposing him, defending against what his views indicated he saw as spurious and offensive claims by the Uralic theorists that the ancient Magyars were primitive, nomadic pastoralists.

For the German-Jewish Vámbéry, Map SSM.3.4 showed he was more interested in politics than most of the scholars, with the exception of Pulszky and Rómer. However, his interest in that arena had lain in the politics of the Middle East, not in his native Hungary and the Habsburgs. As noted in Chapter 3, Vámbéry's autobiography claimed he worked as an agent for the British Foreign Service in the Middle East during the early 1850s, having spent the 1848—49 Revolution teaching and moving about various towns in Hungary to avoid the conflict there. While in the Middle East, Vámbéry worked for and became close to members of the Turkish Government and military, with his trip there funded initially by Baron Eötvös and then augmented by a living allowance from the Academy. During that time, he became fluent in Turkish, publishing a German-Turkish dictionary on his return to Hungary in 1858. Publication of that dictionary was followed in 1869 by his article claiming the Magyar language has Turkic origins, an article, as highlighted in Chapter 3, that was strongly countered by Budenz and ignited the already simmering debate over Magyar origins that erupted into the Ugric-Turkic War (1861—1920).

Of the four remaining Nineteenth-century scholars, Jankowich (Map SSM.3.6), who had been a conservative throughout his life, had died heavily indebted in 1846. His contact with the

Habsburg hub had been only indirect and had taken two paths. The first was the sale of two parts of his collection to the Hungarian National Assembly, to pay his debts, although the second sale, negotiated by his wife in 1844, was finalised only after his death. The second path was his early membership of the Imperially-controlled Academy, the founders of which were led by the political and economic reformist, Count István Széchenyi, and included others of the nobility, whose financial support could have motivated Jankowich's claim of the deceased at Benepuszta being the brave Magyar warrior of local legend.

Map SSM.3.3 for Budenz, showed the German national had been living in Germany and focussed on his linguistic studies at Göttingen University until 1861, when he made the move to Hungary. Following his arrival in Hungary, he worked in teaching before moving into the Academy's library and assisting Hunfalvy in establishing and editing the *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* journal. However, there was no evidence of direct Habsburg influence over his work or writings.

Map SSM.3.9 recorded that Hampel was born four months after the 1848—49 Revolution had ended. Thus, any exposure in his work to Habsburg influence or the nationalistic push in Hungary against Habsburg rule could only have come much later, when he began working at the National Museum and became close to Pulszky. While his profile showed a decided career boost for Hampel from marrying Pulszky's daughter, Polixénia, and becoming a member of the Pulszky family, there was no evidence of Hampel taking on board his father-in-law's political views. Instead, as will be discussed later regarding the reporting of the artefacts, Hampel appeared to have been at odds with the views of his father-in-law, while protective of his memory.

The final scholar, Nagy, was born a few years after Hampel and, as per Map SSM.3.13 appeared to have spent his entire adult life working in curatorial work at either the National Museum in Budapest or the Székely National Museum at Sepsi-Szent György, while forming and promoting his own Scythian-origin view of Magyar ethnogenesis. Although his profile did not indicate any actual contact with the Imperial family, it is possible that Nagy encountered members of the Habsburg Court during the formal coronation in Budapest of the Imperial couple as King and Queen of Hungary in 1867, following the signing of the Compromise. Nagy may also have had some exposure to the hub in May 1896 at the start of the six-months long Millennial Anniversary celebrations in Hungary, when Emperor Franz Josef formally opened the event in an official ceremony observed by thousands.

Assessment of the Habsburg Hub's Influence

In summary, the collective data showed that the Habsburg hub had played a major role in the lives and/or work of four of the scholars, and a lesser, more indirect, role, in the work or views of most of the other seven Nineteenth-century scholars. At that time, the Uralic theory was being heavily promoted by the linguists, particularly Hunfalvy and Budenz in the latter part of that century. The analysis suggested that the influence of the Habsburg hub was less pronounced in the late Eighteenth Century, when the initial view of the linguistic affinity between the Magyar and Finnish languages was being formulated. However, it also suggested that the language policies of the Emperor Josef II, albeit briefly imposed could be expected to have had some impact on the writing and careers of those scholars whose proficiency in the German language was less than adequate. In the following sections on the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences over the scholars and their work, the association of the Habsburg hub with those other two institutions will be seen to have formed an integral part of those relationships.

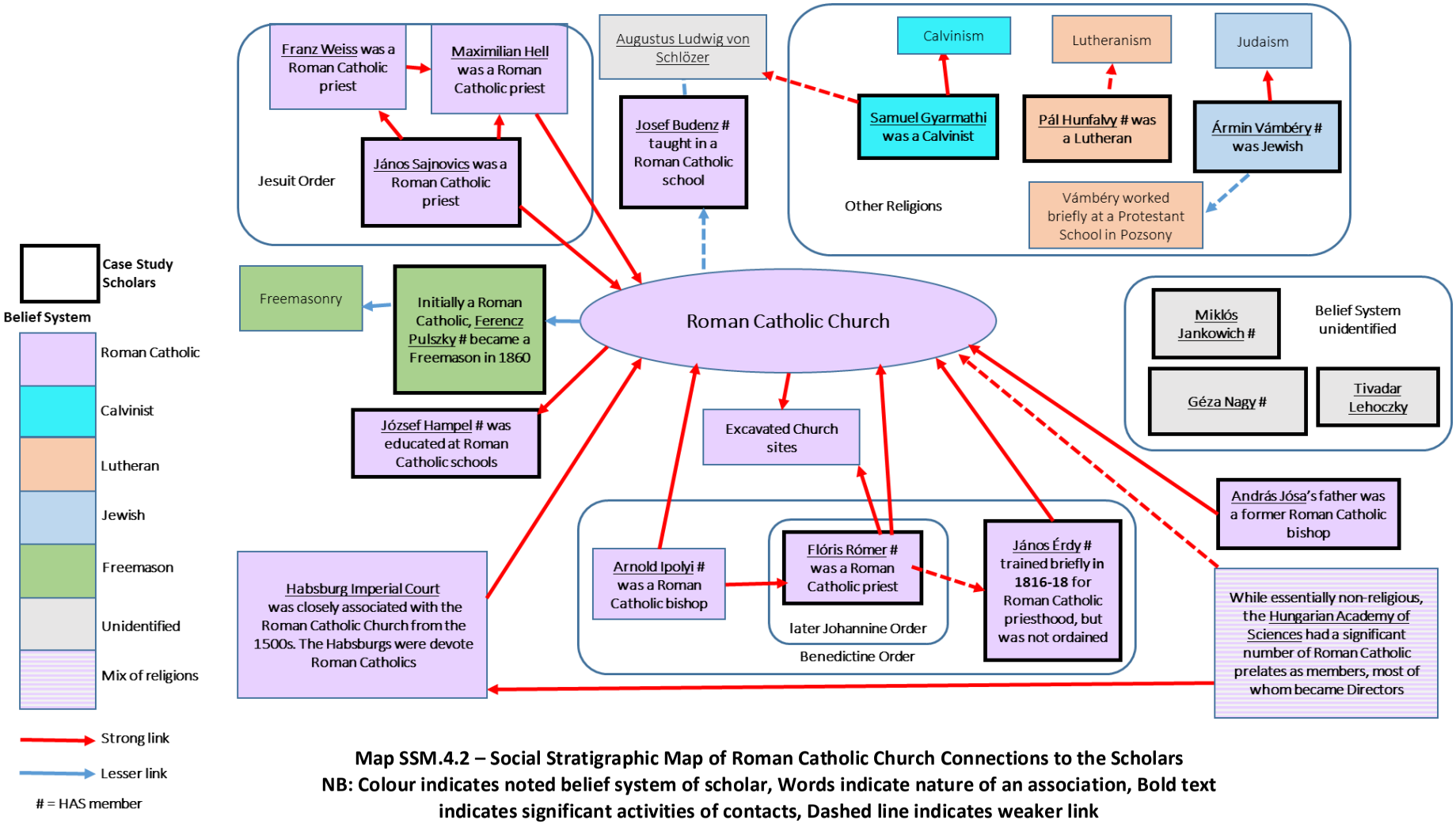
The Roman Catholic Church Influence Hub

As noted earlier, the Catholic Church had a historical relationship with the Kingdom from the Tenth Century, with the strength of the relationship fluctuating up to the Eighteenth Century.

Influence over the Eighteenth-Century Scholars

Map SSM.3.1 recorded the life and work of Sajnovics who from the age of nine was heavily involved with the Catholic Church, into which he was ordained a priest in the Jesuit Order at age 19 and remained a member throughout his life. Like Sajnovics, both his mentor Maximilian Hell and his supervisor at the Astronomy Observatory, Franz Weiss, were Jesuit priests and astronomers. As discussed in Chapter 3, the published treatise on an affinity between Magyar and Saami was a direct result of the participation by Sajnovics in the Vardö Island expedition and his research for that treatise was carried out at Hell's insistence. The conclusions that Sajnovics derived from that research reflected the linguistic view that Hell had previously promulgated.

The analysis also implied that the work conducted by Sajnovics on Vardö Island could not have occurred if the Jesuit Order had not been strongly involved in conducting astronomical observations and if Hell, as a renowned Jesuit astronomer, had not been sought out by the Danish Court, which then funded the trip. Thus, while the religious views of the Catholic Church could not be claimed to have influenced Sajnovics' conclusions, clearly the involvement of the Jesuits in the study of astronomy and the Order's willingness to permit Hell to take Sajnovics to



Map SSM.4.2 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Roman Catholic Church Connections to the Scholars
NB: Colour indicates noted belief system of scholar, Words indicate nature of an association, Bold text indicates significant activities of contacts, Dashed line indicates weaker link

Vardö Island as his assistant, had enabled Sajnovics to conduct the research and thereby indirectly had an impact on the results he could achieve.

On the other hand, Map SSM.3.2 showed that Gyarmathi was a Calvinist by faith with no special religious training and no involvement with the Catholic Church, either in Hungary or in Germany, where he studied and drafted his *Affinitas* text. Gyarmathi cited and built upon the earlier work of Sajnovics in his own research. His profile also showed that Gyarmathi's research conclusion associating the Magyar and Finn languages was the direct result of a request by his mentor, Schlözer, a Protestant by faith, to amend his text to that view. Therefore, the Catholic Church could not be claimed to have had any direct or significant influence over Gyarmathi's work.

Influence over the Nineteenth-Century Scholars

In the Nineteenth Century, the Roman Catholic Church appears to have had varying degrees of influence on the lives of four of the case study scholars (Rómer, Érdy, Jósa and Hampel).

Map SSM.3.8 noted that Rómer was schooled at the Theological Grammar School in Győr and then was a Benedictine monk for several years before being ordained a Catholic priest in 1848. So, for his early years the Catholic Church clearly had played a major role in his life. However, the strength of its influence on his views during those years was not quite so clear, as, shortly after his ordination he left the Benedictine Order and enlisted in the Revolutionary Army under a false name, serving there until his capture and imprisonment in 1849. Rómer then remained in prison for five years, apparently returning to the priesthood some months after his release in 1854. During the months between his release from prison and his re-entry to the Benedictine Order he was under police surveillance. It would be reasonable to assume that refraining from further political activity may have been a condition of his early release from prison and that the surveillance only abated when it became clear that he would resume his previous religious life. Thus, it could be said that the Roman Catholic Church both taught Rómer and gave him sanctuary when he needed it. It also figured heavily in his work interests, as later in his life his archaeological research and reporting in the main focussed on medieval Church buildings and monuments around Budapest, with only occasional work elsewhere, such as the excavation and reporting of the Galgocz gravesite and the reporting of the Anarcs assemblage. In addition, the analysis suggested that the relationship between Rómer and others among the scholars, such as Pulszky and Jósa, may also have been coloured by Rómer's religious beliefs and close association with the Church.

Rómer was not the only Benedictine monk among the case study scholars. Érdy was another (Map SSM.3.11) who first had been taught by the Benedictine monks and then became one himself, before leaving the Order after only two years. However, unlike Rómer, Érdy did not return to the Order at a later time. Instead, he first pursued a career in the Law, rising to County Judge of Sopron before changing career path to archaeology and the curation of artefacts at both the Academy and the National Museum - the latter occurring in the same year that Jankowich died. In that latter role, Érdy would have been responsible for curating the Museum's acquisition of Jankowich's collection. Érdy worked at the Museum until his retirement in 1869, two years prior to his death. Therefore, the Roman Catholic Church seemingly played a significant role in his early years, but only a minimal one, if any, in his later adult life, with archaeology being his prime focus and passion for most of that time.

Jósa, on the other hand, had not studied to become a priest, nor was he recorded as having attended religious schools. However, Map SSM.3.12 showed a strong association for him with the Roman Catholic Church through his father, a former Bishop, who was Lord Lieutenant of Bihar County during the 1848—49 Revolution, when the young Jósa enlisted to fight with the Revolutionary Army. No date or reason was indicated for his father's change of career from Catholic Bishop to Government official, nor was there any indication if his son had been influenced by the Catholic Church up to that time. However, Jósa's later friendship and occasional archaeological work with the prelate Rómer suggested that he held ties to the Church into his late 20s and early 30s. During that time, he was building his medical career and so Jósa may have viewed Rómer, who was almost 20 years his senior and in a 'caring' field of work as well, as a mentor and guide in personal issues.

The other scholar whose life and work potentially were influenced by the Roman Catholic Church was Hampel, who was schooled at the Royal Grammar School in Budapest, where, Map SSM.3.9 showed he was taught by the priest, Rómer, sometime between 1856 and 1866. Rómer then resurfaced in Hampel's life when he began work as a student volunteer at the National Museum in 1870 and was formally employed later with Rómer's Department in the Museum. While Hampel's profile did not indicate any direct influence from the Roman Catholic Church at that time, personal influences initially from Rómer and then perhaps more strongly from Pulszky, appeared to have impacted his life and work. The individual profiles of these three men (Hampel, Rómer and Pulszky), when combined, suggested a rather complicated relationship involving all three hubs (Habsburgs, Catholic Church and the Academy) and has been considered in more detail later, when two tri-partite relationships between the scholars are further discussed.

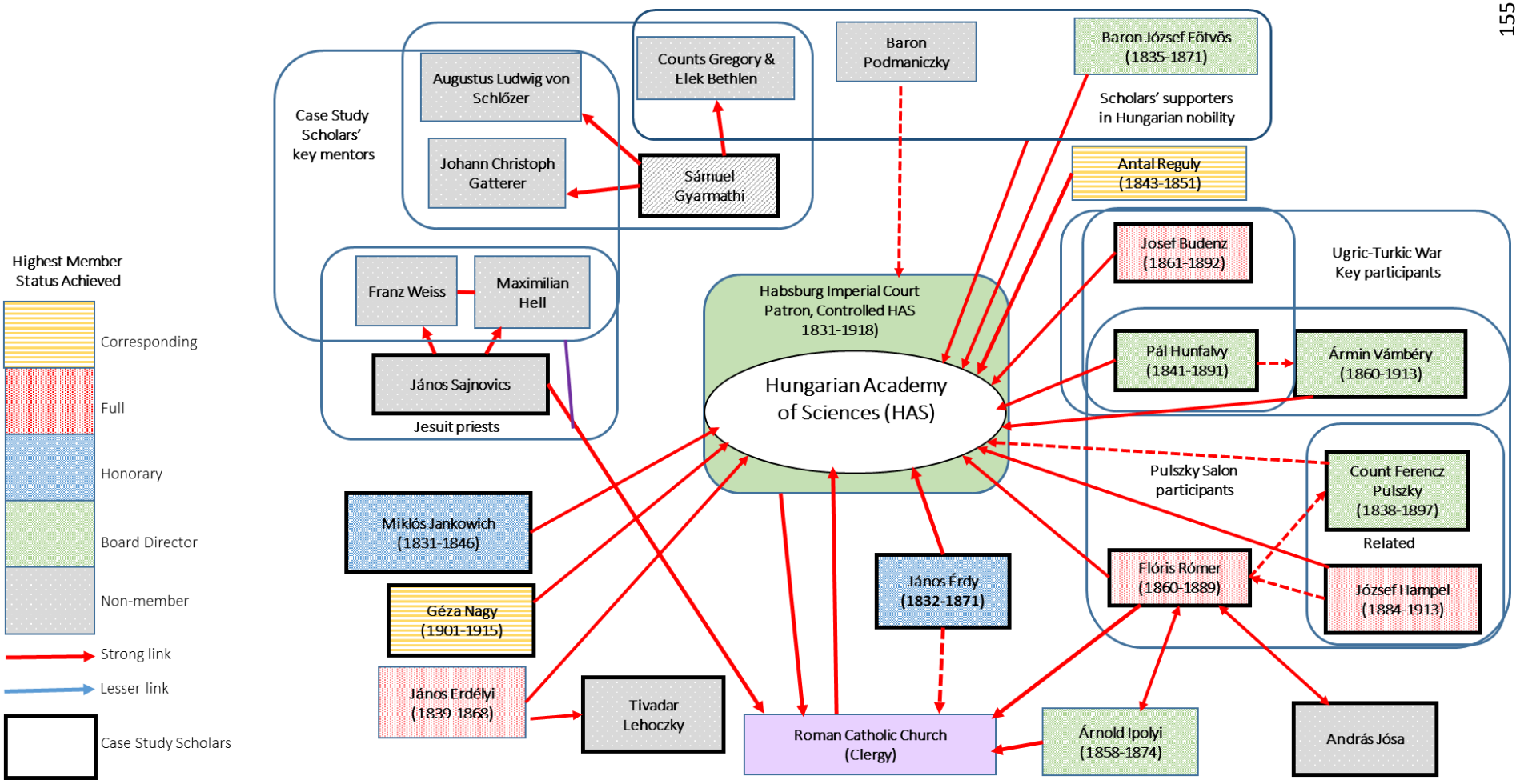
The only other scholar recorded with an association with the Roman Catholic Church was Budenz, who taught briefly at a Catholic school in Hungary before Hunfalvy invited him to work as his assistant. While not stated in any information available on him, Budenz's employment at the school suggested that he was of the Roman Catholic faith, as it would have been difficult at the time for him to gain employment there if he were of another faith. His close association with the Lutheran, Hunfalvy, following that brief stint, however, suggested that Roman Catholicism was not a significant influence on Budenz's life or views. Of the remaining Nineteenth-century scholars: Hunfalvy (Map SSM.3.5) was a Lutheran, Vámbéry (Map SSM.3.4) was Jewish, and Pulszky (Map SSM.3.7) was more influenced by his strong association with Freemasonry, which, although not a religion, was considered a dangerous and heretical movement by the Catholic Church in that period. The belief systems of Nagy and Lehoczky were not indicated.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) Hub

Given the close involvement of the Habsburg Court with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in its early days and that some of the scholars had significant associations with the Imperial Court or the Catholic Church and played major roles in the Academy, it would be impossible to discuss the Academy's influence on the scholars without some regard to those other institutions. As the Academy had only begun its operations in 1831, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Franz I, it had no influence over the scholars of the Eighteenth Century. For the Nineteenth-century scholars, however, the Academy played a direct and major role in the lives and work of several, while having a less direct but still significant impact on the others, apart from Jósa and Lehoczky who were never its members (see Map SSM.4.3).

Influence over the Nineteenth Century Scholars

In earlier chapters it was noted that the Academy was created by Imperial assent, with the Emperor, through the Office of the Palatine, acting as its patron and controller of its membership and activities. Any action of the Academy deemed by the Palatine to be against the interests of the Emperor therefore could be vetoed. The records showed that during the 1848—49 Revolution the Emperor had banned the Academy from recruiting new members for ten years. While no reason was recorded for the ban, it may have been instituted as a way to minimise potential radicalization of the Academy by anti-Imperial members. The ban would have impacted heavily on Academy's finances, as most of its funding came from membership fees.



Map SSM.4.3 – Social Stratigraphic Map of Hungarian Academy of Sciences connections to scholars
NB: Colour indicates membership status upon joining HAS, Dashed line indicates weaker link, Groupings indicate separate layers

Analysis of the membership list (Figs.4.1 & 4.2) showed that both the Hungarian Diet and the Roman Catholic Church, through their proportionally large membership of the Academy, played major roles in its decision-making and activities. While the Academy recruited its members from a wide range of fields, the analysis highlighted that the first Directors of the Academy were mostly politicians (71.2%) and clergy (15.25%). Moreover, that analysis demonstrated that while the membership base of the Academy grew from 1858 onwards and expanded to encompass a broader range of fields, a significant proportion of new members still came from those two fields, with many of those new members moving immediately into Director positions on the Academy's Board. The Imperial Court was clearly concerned about the high proportion of politicians as members of the Academy, having from the inception of its forerunner Learned Society stipulated that members must not participate in political activities. Later in the life of the Academy moves were made to limit the control of the Imperial Court over the activities of the Academy, indicating that some members of the Academy saw the Imperial Court as an impediment to their freedom of association.

Moving now to the case study scholars themselves, nine of the Nineteenth-century scholars in this study were Academy members. Jankowich was an early member, being appointed as one of the first Honorary members in 1831 and remaining a member until his death 15 years later (Map SSM.3.6). Érdy was elected to membership in its second year of operations (1832), initially as a Corresponding member, but promoted almost immediately to Full member status, which he retained until his passing in 1871 (Map SSM.3.11). Pulszky was elected a Corresponding member in 1838 before being promoted to Full member in 1840, Honorary member in 1841, and then Director in 1873 (Map SSM.3.7). In 1895, he was appointed Vice-President of the Academy, a post he held until his death two years later (Map SSM.3.7). Hunfalvy was the next one elected to Academy membership, first as a Corresponding member in 1841 and then as a Full member in 1858, holding the latter status also for the remainder of his life (Map SSM.3.5). Rómer and Vámbéry were elected as Corresponding members in the same year (1860), with Rómer gaining Full member status in 1871 (Map SSM.3.8) and Vámbéry achieving that in 1876 (Map SSM.3.4). Rómer retained his Full member status until 1889 (Map SSM.3.8), while Vámbéry was made an Honorary member in 1893 and a Director in 1894, holding the latter position for the next 19 years (also Map SSM.3.4). Although technically, as a foreigner, he was only eligible for election to Honorary or External status, Budenz was elected initially as a Corresponding member in 1861 and promoted immediately to Full membership, holding that status also for life (Map SSM.3.3). The anomaly of Budenz's membership status is discussed further in the next section. Hampel achieved Academy Corresponding membership in 1884 and was promoted to Full member in

1892, remaining so for 18 years (Map SSM.3.9). Finally, Nagy was elected a Corresponding member in 1901 and remained at that level for the next 14 years (Map SSM.3.13).

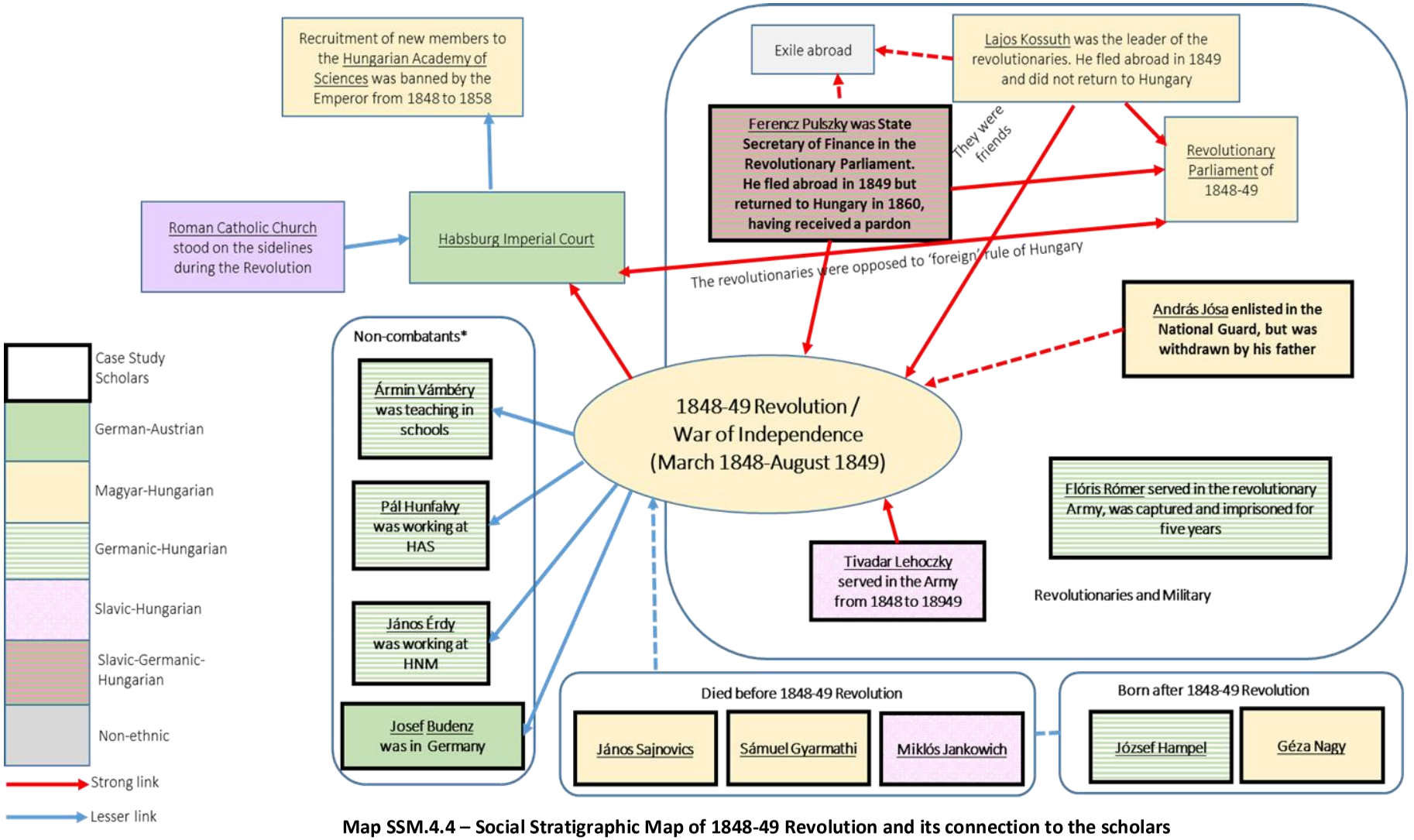
Four of the scholars (Budenz, Hunfalvy, Pulszky and Érdy) were also directly employed by the Academy during their careers. In the 1840s Érdy was Keeper of the Medals Collection at the Academy (Map SSM.3.11), while around the same time Hunfalvy (Map SSM.3.5) began working in the Academy's library, later to be joined by Budenz in 1861 (Map SSM.3.3). Pulszky held two senior positions at the Academy (Map SSM.3.7). The first was as Head of Linguistics, although no linguistics qualifications or training appeared in his profile (Map SSM.3.7). The second was as Head of History, a role as indicated in his profile that could perhaps be more closely associated with his earlier involvement with the Revolution and his lifelong interest in Hungarian heritage (Map SSM.3.7).

Two other interactions were also noteworthy. The first was the living allowance Vámbéry received from the Academy to assist with his expenses during his travels to Turkey and the Middle East in 1852 (Map SSM.3.4). The allowance was instigated by his friend, and later President of the Academy, Baron József Eötvös. As noted in Chapter 3, Vámbéry corresponded with the Academy on his research in the Middle East and published a German-Turkish dictionary on his return to Hungary (Map SSM.3.4). The other significant interaction was between Nagy and the Academy during the Millennial Anniversary year of 1896, when Nagy gave lectures on Magyar prehistory at the Millennial Exhibition organised by the Academy in conjunction with the National Museum (Map SSM.3.13). Nagy worked on the lectures and their subsequent publication with another Academy member, Sándor Matlekovits (Map SSM.3.13).

The 1848–49 Revolution and its Impact

Already discussed in some detail earlier in this text and a major turning point in the Magyar Kingdom's history, the 1848—49 Revolution had directly involved four scholars – Pulszky, Rómer, Lehoczky and Jósa (see Map SSM.4.4) and could reasonably be said to have had a major impact on their lives. In that regard, the salient points of their lives, as indicated in Map SSM.4.4, are highlighted here.

Map SSM.4.4 of the 1848—49 Revolution and its association with the scholars showed that, at the time of the Revolution, Pulszky held a senior post in the Revolutionary Government and was close to the rebellion's leadership. He then fled the country with his family as the Revolution was failing, only returning 17 years later when Emperor Franz Josef granted him a pardon.



Map SSM.4.4 – Social Stratigraphic Map of 1848-49 Revolution and its connection to the scholars
NB: Colour indicates ethnicity of scholars or event, Dashed line indicates weaker link, Bold text indicates a case study scholar

While Rómer, at the same time, abandoned his priesthood to join the rebels, was captured and imprisoned for five years, before returning to the Benedictine Order which, as noted earlier, may have been a condition of his release from prison. Lehoczky, on the other hand, enlisted in the Imperial Army and served until his discharge in 1849, when he resumed his legal studies.

Also, a young Jósa enlisted in the Revolutionary National Guard, but was withdrawn from service by his father. Theresore, it would be fair to say that for those four scholars, the 1848—49 Revolution had a direct impact on their personal lives and views.

Others living in the country at the time, including Hunfalvy, Érdy and Vámbéry (Maps SSM.3.5,11,12), who were working in various educational or cultural roles, would also have been impacted by the confrontational environment, and by Emperor Franz Josef's vengeful post-conflict response (Molnár, 2001: 199—200).[102] Budenz, however, was not yet in Hungary, but still living and studying in his native Germany, and so was unlikely to have felt much impact from the Revolution in Hungary.

Of the other five scholars, Sajnovics, Gyarmathi and Jankowich were already deceased, while Hampel was born just after the Revolution ended and Nagy sometime later, so, while the families of Hampel and Nagy may have experienced the impact of the Revolution, there was no evidence of any effect of the Revolution on the views of those scholars.

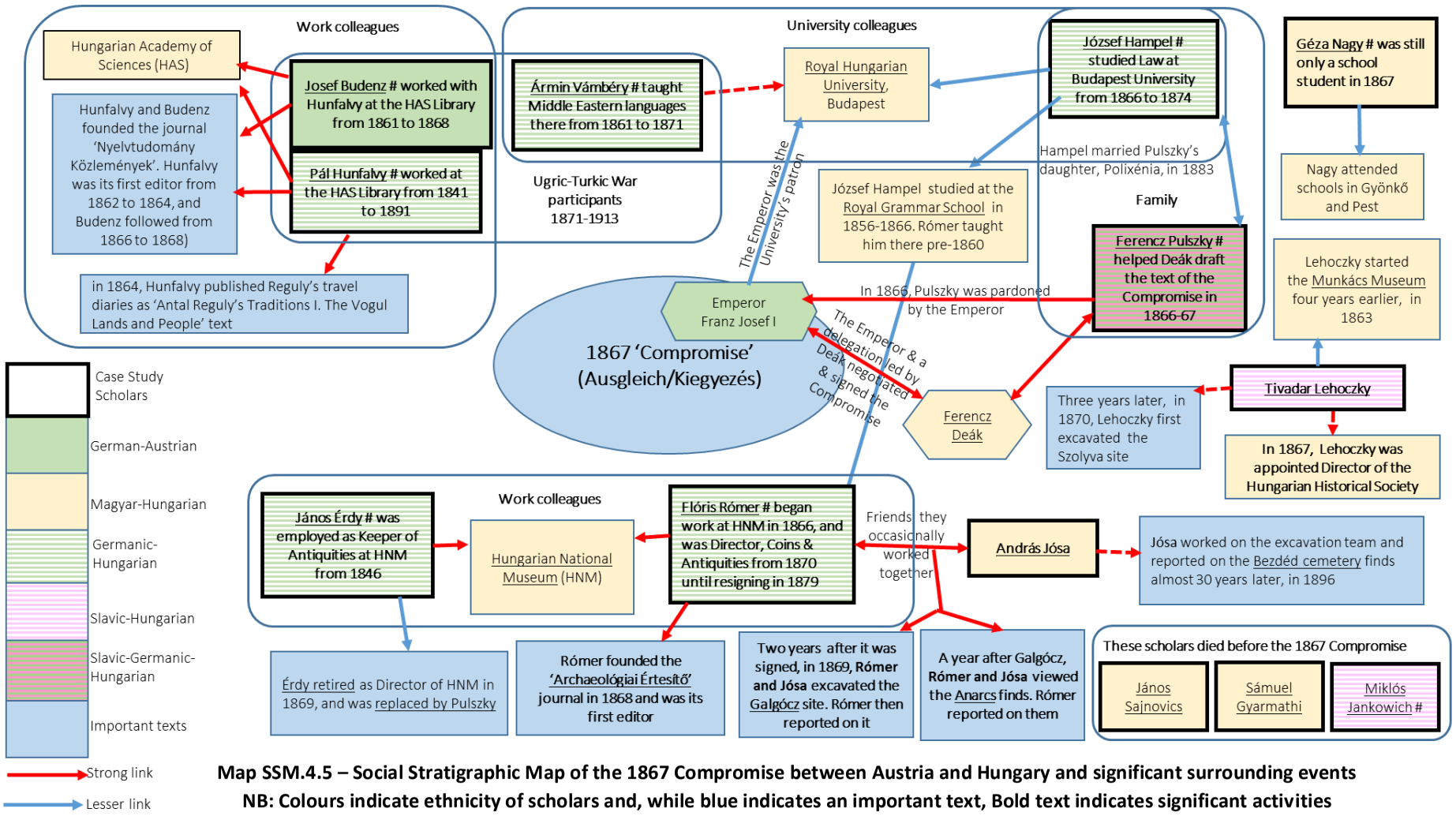
The 1867 Compromise and its Impact

The period surrounding the Compromise of 1867 was also one of major change in the Kingdom and saw significant heritage-associated activity in the lives of the scholars.

For the linguists, Vámbéry and Budenz were maintaining their public dispute over the Magyar language, while Hunfalvy, having published Reguly's travel diaries in 1864, ended his long-standing friendship with Vámbéry, in favour of Budenz.

As for the archaeologists, Érdy was continuing his work at the National Museum, retiring from that position two years later. Pulszky assisted Deák with drafting the Compromise document, after being pardoned by the Emperor and having returned to Hungary only the year before. He then began his career with the National Museum and his long-term involvement with the Academy.

[102] Molnár noted that 13 generals and several key political figures were initially executed, followed by a further 120 condemned to death by war tribunals, and that "others were simply massacred, and thousands were condemned to long prison sentences of forced labour" (Molnár, 2001: 199).



Map SSM.4.5 – Social Stratigraphic Map of the 1867 Compromise between Austria and Hungary and significant surrounding events
NB: Colours indicate ethnicity of scholars and, while blue indicates an important text, Bold text indicates significant activities

Rómer began work at the National Museum in 1866, establishing the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* journal in 1868 and rising to Director two years later. Jósa had begun work in a hospital in 1864 and was advancing his career in medicine, while also pursuing his interest in archaeology with his friend, Rómer, including excavating the Galgocz site two years into the Dual Monarchy. Lehoczky was appointed a Director of the Hungarian Historical Society in the Compromise year and excavated the Szolyva site only three years later.

Thus, it was a period of significant change in both the scholars' lives and the history of the Uralic theory, with the beginning of its consolidation as the dominant theory, as Hungarians of all ethnicities began taking a greater interest in their ethnic origins and heritage.

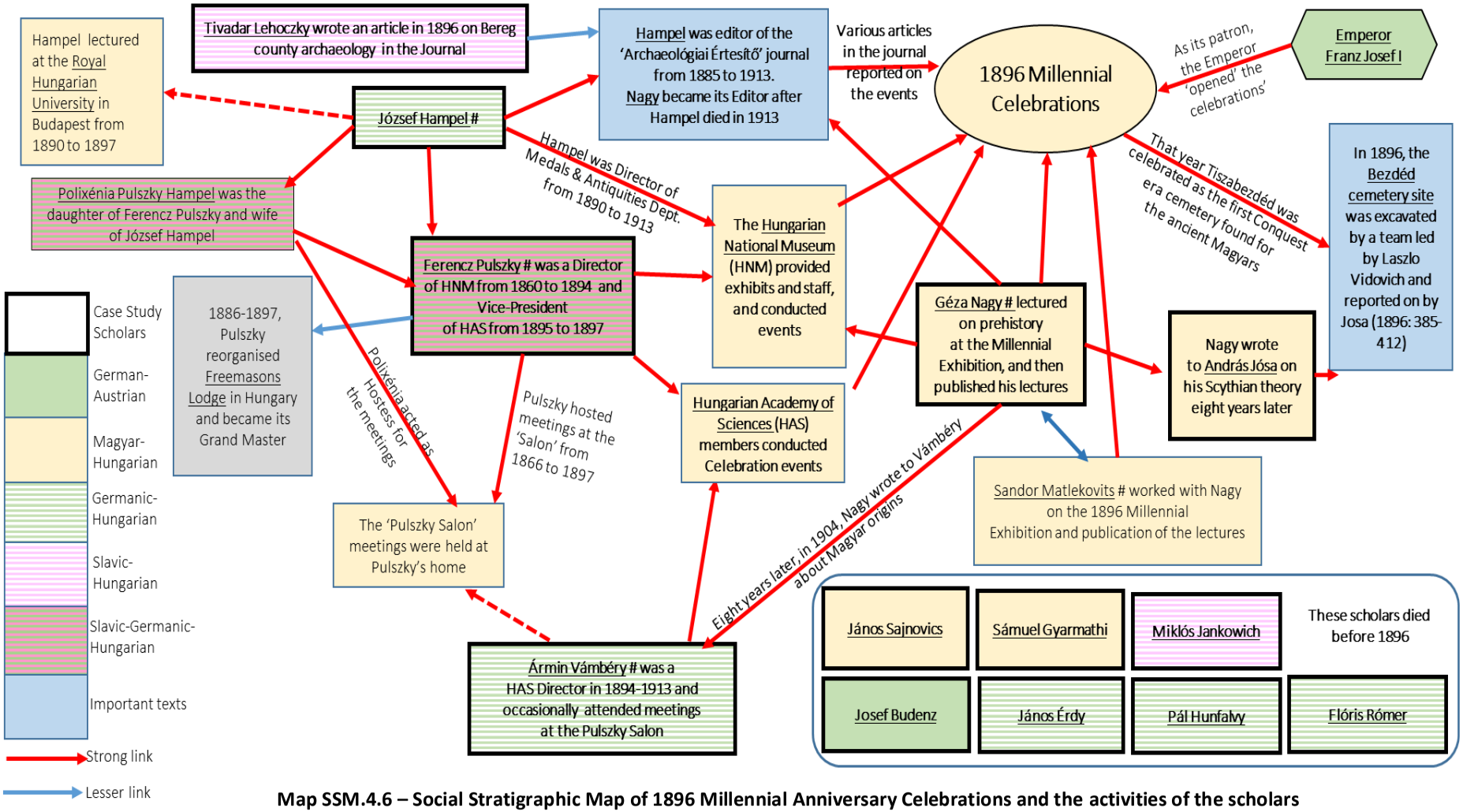
Only Pulszky was directly involved in the political aspect of the creation of the Dual Monarchy. However, it could be said that all of the scholars living in the country in that era, would have been affected by the political machinations of the time, with the Emperor vacillating over giving more or less control to the Hungarian Diet in running the affairs of the Kingdom.

The 1896 Millennial Anniversary and its Impact

By the 1896 Millennial Anniversary celebrations of the Magyars' first arrival in the Carpathian Basin, there had been many changes to the scholars' lives and work. Érdy (1871), Rómer (1889), Hunfalvy (1891) and Budenz (1892) had all passed away, although the legacy of Hunfalvy and Budenz, in particular, continued well after.

Two years after Budenz died, Vámbéry was made a Director of the Academy, and Pulszky was elected its Vice-President the following year – both men opponents of the Uralic theory. Pulszky, however, died the following year. Despite his key opponents now being no longer alive to counter his views, Vámbéry, who lived until 1913, could not dispel their legacy and achieve victory for his own alternative linguistic theory.

Hampel, who had married Pulszky's daughter in 1883, the same year his new father-in-law was appointed Managing Director of the National Museum, was already well-advanced in his career by 1896. By now editor of the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* journal and a Director of the National Museum, he was also lecturing at the University. Four years later he published the first of his two compilation texts on Conquest-era artefacts, while side-stepping the issue of ethnic association of the finds.



Map SSM.4.6 – Social Stratigraphic Map of 1896 Millennial Anniversary Celebrations and the activities of the scholars
NB: Colours indicate ethnicity of scholar, blue indicates important texts, Words indicate nature of an association, Bold text indicates significant activities or contacts, # = HAS member in 1896

With both the National Museum and the Academy heavily involved in running events for the Millennial celebrations, Nagy was busy in 1896, lecturing on prehistory at the Exhibition organised by the Academy and publishing his lectures. Meanwhile Lehoczky, who had previously intimated Hun cultural identity for the Szolyva find, published an archaeological report on Bereg County in Hampel's *Archaeologiai Értesítő* journal. Jósa, invited to participate in the Bezdéd excavation that year, was also compiling and publishing a report on the cemetery, having taken on-board Rómer's pro-Uralic views on Magyar ethnogenesis.

Meanwhile the Ugric-Turkic War continued, and the analysis showed that despite several key protagonists for the Uralic theory having died before 1896 and its opponents being promoted then to key positions in the Academy, the legacy of the former key protagonists continued, with the theory's opponents unable to achieve victory in the debate and the Uralic theory's supporters declaring victory for their view in 1920.

Some Linkages were more Complicated

The interactions already discussed between the scholars and institutions were significant in that they indicated the importance of those institutions to the scholars' lives and views. Of perhaps even greater significance to the issue of the Uralic theory and Magyar ethnogenesis, however, was that these individual interactions only represented part of the picture.

Before moving to the artefacts and their reporting, it is important to note that the full picture can only be appreciated by the further examination here of two distinct, but temporally-coincidental, relationships – one of linguists, and the other, of archaeologists. Each relationship involved three scholars and the institutions that played the greatest roles in their lives – again the Habsburg Court, the Roman Catholic Church and the Academy, with the addition of the National Museum for the archaeologists.

The Linguists – Budenz, Hunfalvy and Vámbéry

The first relationship of note was between the linguists Budenz, Hunfalvy and Vámbéry, which saw the Uralic theory placed firmly into the consciousness of the broader Hungarian population through the very public debate they spearheaded between 1869 and 1891. These three scholars were members of the Academy and two (Budenz and Hunfalvy) were also employed by it, while Budenz and Vámbéry were also contemporary employees of the University in Budapest. The analysis clearly indicated that Budenz was receiving special treatment at both institutions.

As noted earlier, Budenz was a German national and, therefore eligible for Honorary or External membership of the Academy under its rules, but not for Corresponding membership, which was restricted to Hungarian nationals. Despite this formal restriction and having just commenced work with Hunfalvy two years after arriving in Hungary from university in Germany, Budenz was elected a Corresponding member of the Academy in 1861. While information on those members who nominated new recruits to membership at the time has not been published, it would be reasonable to assume that Hunfalvy, who had attained Full member status and therefore voting rights three years prior, had submitted the nomination for election of his new assistant Budenz and had supported his candidature among the other voting members. As Head of the Library Department at the Academy, Hunfalvy would have been well-known and respected among the Academy's membership; consequently, his nomination of Budenz to Corresponding member status may have been viewed as justifiable, even though it contravened the membership rules of the time.

More significant from the perspective of unusual treatment for a foreigner was Budenz's promotion to Full member status of the Academy in 1871, a status which gave him voting rights. The year of that promotion (1871) had further significance in that it was the same year that public debate over the origin of the Magyar language, referred to as the Ugric-Turkic War, erupted in the Hungarian Press of the day, with Budenz and Hunfalvy on the Ugric side and Vámbéry leading the other side of what quickly became a very heated and vitriolic dispute.

Vámbéry, a Hungarian national of Germanic-Jewish parentage, was elected a Corresponding member of the Academy a year before Budenz but had remained at that level until his promotion to Full member in 1876, five years after Budenz had already achieved that status. It would be conceivable that the difference in membership treatment between Budenz and Vámbéry was at least in part due to the Turkic-origin stance taken by Vámbéry, a stance strongly opposed by Hunfalvy and Budenz. The long-term friendship between Hunfalvy and Vámbéry was irreparably fractured by Vámbéry's article, as it offered a view of Magyar origins that directly opposed Hunfalvy's belief in the Uralic theory, a view he and Budenz had been actively researching for the previous decade.

The Academy's membership listing (Glatz, 2003) did not provide precise dates for the commencement or change in status of each member, so it was uncertain whether Budenz achieved Full member status before or after his article was published refuting the 'Turkic-origins' stance espoused by Vámbéry and criticising Vámbéry's lack of formal linguistic training. What

was clear was that, with Hunfalvy's support, Budenz progressed through the ranks of the Academy at a faster pace than Vámbéry over the same period.

In a similar vein, both Vámbéry and Budenz had worked as lecturers at the Royal University in Budapest – Vámbéry commencing there in 1861, and Budenz beginning his employment seven years later in 1868. However, as with the Academy, Budenz advanced his career there much faster than Vámbéry, being promoted to Professor only four years later. Vámbéry, after a decade without promotion, ceased his employment with the University in 1871, coincidentally the same year that he first clashed with Budenz in the Ugric-Turkic War. Thus, Budenz seemed to have been favoured over Vámbéry both at the Academy and at the University. How much of that favour was due to the individual skills and personal attributes of the two men and how much was due to external influences were unclear. However, it was evident that the personal influence of Hunfalvy must have played at least some part in the matter. Having first hired the much younger Budenz to work with him at the Academy library, Hunfalvy most likely also then nominated him for Academy membership in a category normally reserved for Hungarians. In doing so, Hunfalvy would have been effectively saying that Budenz warranted special treatment, although his reason for that special treatment was not recorded. Together the two men then founded a new linguistics journal, *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, with Budenz as its second editor after Hunfalvy. Hunfalvy probably followed that later by supporting the employment of Budenz in the lecturing role at the University, which then led to his rapid rise to a professorship.

The question that then needed to be asked was: Why was Budenz afforded such special treatment? Did Hunfalvy recognise in Budenz an extraordinary talent that he was keen to nurture? Did the close working relationship between the older Hunfalvy and his younger protégé develop much stronger bonds of friendship? Or, was Hunfalvy simply more reticent in expressing his views on the origins of the Magyar language and, in Budenz, saw someone more willing to promote those views in public fora? Hunfalvy's seeming reticence would become the more probable reason if one considered that it was only after Budenz joined Hunfalvy in the Library that the two founded their linguistics journal, with the more senior and professionally well-established Hunfalvy as its editor for the first three years of publication and Budenz taking over that role for the next three years, once he came to be known locally. While the analysis provided no clear explanation, it did point heavily towards Hunfalvy as the key to Budenz's unusual treatment by both the Academy and the University.

On the other hand, both Vámbéry and Budenz up to 1871 had counted Hunfalvy as a friend, with Vámbéry having the longer-term claim. In his capacity as Head of the Library Department

at the Academy, Hunfalvy undoubtedly would have assisted many scholars in Hungary and abroad during his more than 30 years working in the library, meaning that he would have been held in high regard within the academic community both in Hungary and elsewhere. Thus, his very public support of Budenz in attacking Vámbéry's ideas in various press articles and books would have dealt a major blow to Vámbéry's credibility and reputation. At the time Budenz had been a Lecturer in Classical Philology at Budapest University for only three years (Map SSM.3.3) – a post for which he necessarily would have required Hunfalvy's endorsement, given Budenz's relatively recent arrival to Hungary as a new graduate from Germany only eight years earlier. Therefore, while Budenz may have been a brilliant linguist and teacher and deserving of the title of Professor, his favoured association with the widely-respected Hunfalvy must have played a significant part in his rapid advancement at the University.

By contrast, the Hungarian-born and schooled Vámbéry, was recorded as having lectured at the same University for 10 years up to that point without promotion to a professorship. Unlike Budenz, Vámbéry's profile noted several close associations with the Hungarian nobility. The first was the already-noted friendship with Baron Eötvös. The second was with the Pulszky family, through Polixénia Pulszky, the daughter of Count Ferencz Pulszky. She was a godmother to Vámbéry's son, Rusztem (born in 1872, the year after his public altercation with Budenz), a role normally given only to close and trusted friends. Those associations would suggest that Vámbéry's personal contacts among the higher echelons of Hungarian society should have aided a faster career advancement for him than Budenz achieved. Yet, those contacts seemed to have served little in assisting Vámbéry's career advancement. Many reasons could be postulated. For instance, Vámbéry's personal associations with the Turkish government in the 1850s may have been perceived as too close given Hungary's former history of domination by the Ottomans. However, the analysis only suggested as a reason Hunfalvy's personal favour of Budenz over Vámbéry.

Moreover, while it was not stated whether Vámbéry had published his Turkic-connection theory before or after the date of the end of his lectureship at the University, the public criticism he received from Budenz and more so from his now-former friend Hunfalvy would undoubtedly have impacted on Vámbéry's professional standing thereafter. That view was evidenced by the fact that he was promoted to Full member status in the Academy only in 1876 (14 years after Budenz had achieved the same status) and remained only a Full member until both Hunfalvy and Budenz had died (Hunfalvy in 1891, and Budenz in 1892). Only then in 1893 was Vámbéry first given Honorary status in the Academy and then elected to a Directorship the following year. Furthermore, the strong legacy left by Hunfalvy and Budenz in Hungarian linguistics could be

inferred from the fact that despite Vámbéry holding the potentially influential role of Academy Director for the next 19 years he was unable to win the Ugric-Turkic War, even though his key opponents were no longer there to counter his arguments.

The Archaeologists - Pulszky, Rómer and Hampel

The second tri-partite relationship of importance to the issue of the Uralic theory's promotion to doctrinal status within Hungarian academia, was between the archaeologists Pulszky (Map SSM.3.7), Hampel (Map SSM.3.9) and Rómer (Map SSM.3.8). As their biographical profiles demonstrated, this relationship had several linkages, with Hampel at its centre. The first linkage of note was that Hampel was a student at the Royal Grammar School in Budapest from 1856 to 1866, with Rómer as one of his teachers. The next important link was that Pulszky and Hampel were alumni of the same *alma mater*, having both studied Law at Budapest University, albeit several decades apart - Pulszky in 1830—1834, Hampel in 1866—1870. Rómer was recorded as giving private lectures at the same University at various times in his career.

Their individual profiles recorded that Pulszky (Map SSM.3.7) and Rómer (Map SSM.3.8) shared some commonalities, both becoming Directors of the Hungarian National Museum around the same time, Pulszky in 1869 and Rómer the following year. As noted earlier, both were also directly involved in the 1848—49 Revolution, Pulszky as one of the Revolutionary leaders and Rómer as a soldier in the rebel army. However, it appeared that these two commonalities were outweighed by some significant differences between the two men.

First, while Pulszky was born a nobleman and was a politician who had actively participated in the Hungarian Diet in the 1840s, Rómer was a Roman Catholic priest who had been connected to the nobility only through his tutoring of the Emperor's younger brother Archduke Franz Karl, during those same years. In that aspect alone, their approaches to life and thinking could be assumed to have been quite different. Secondly, Pulszky fled abroad to avoid capture when the Revolution failed and spent the next 17 years in exile before receiving a pardon from the Emperor and returning to Hungary. Rómer, on the other hand, was captured towards the end of the conflict and imprisoned. Sentenced to eight years in prison, he served only five years, before Emperor Franz Josef granted him a pardon.

When Pulszky eventually returned to Hungary, he donated some of his extensive book collection to the National Museum, and Rómer was the curator tasked to select the books for donation. While their profiles did not indicate if the two men knew each other before that time, they would necessarily have had some contact with each other during the book selection process.

Three years later, Pulszky was appointed a Director of the National Museum, replacing the retiring Érdy, and a year later, Rómer was also promoted to a Director's post in the Museum. As senior executives of the Museum, the two men would have come into close personal contact again, if only during meetings of the Board. Their profiles did not specify if they were friends or simply colleagues initially, but Rómer regularly attended 'Salon' meetings at Pulszky's home where discussions took place on a variety of issues. Whether Rómer attended those meetings as a friendly participant or to debate with Pulszky and others over issues where they may have had differences of opinion, was unstated in the data. However, the analysis suggested that the relationship between Pulszky and Rómer may not have been a wholly amicable one, in light of the fact that Rómer resigned his directorship at the Museum only 10 years after accepting it, while Pulszky continued as a Director there until his retirement in 1894.

The analysis highlighted some possible reasons for a rift between the two men, that may have precipitated, or at least contributed to, Rómer's decision to resign. The first was a difference in the treatment of the two men following their participation in the 1848—49 Revolution. Pulszky may have perceived Rómer's pardon and early release from prison as favouritism from the Emperor resulting from Rómer having tutored his father before the Revolution. Rómer in turn may have seen Pulszky's escape abroad with Kossuth as self-serving and possibly a betrayal of his fellow revolutionaries in face of the torture and executions of many others who had been inspired to join the Revolution by its leaders.

A second possibility related to religion. Pulszky had embraced Freemasonry while in exile abroad and rose to become Grand Master of the Hungarian Lodge. While Freemasonry is not a religion, the Catholic Church in that period saw it as dangerous and publicly condemned its members. Rómer, as a Catholic priest, would have been aware of the views of the Church on Freemasonry and may even have shared them, or, at least, accepted them as the Church's ruling and therefore may have viewed Pulszky with suspicion. Pulszky, in turn, may have seen Rómer's view as hypocritical, given that Rómer had left the Catholic priesthood for a time to serve in the Revolutionary Army, returning to the priesthood only some months after his release from prison and, perhaps, as a condition of his early release.

The analysis indicates that Pulszky was sufficiently politically savvy to advance his career within the new Dual Monarchy he had helped to create, despite his former public opposition to Habsburg rule. It is likely that Pulszky recognised that despite rising to Grand Master of the Hungarian Freemasons he was still living and working in a largely 'Catholic country'. It was

beneficial to be perceived as supportive of Catholic priests, like Rómer, even if he did not like or personally agree with them.

With the relationship between Pulszky and Rómer during their lives possibly not an amicable one, the introduction of Hampel to the picture could have created even greater friction between them. The tri-partite connection, with Hampel as its focus, began with Rómer having taught young Hampel at the Royal Grammar School. The next connection occurred when Hampel later became a volunteer at the National Museum working in Rómer's Department, and then was consolidated when Hampel gained full-time employment in the important position of 'Keeper' in the same Department. The analysis here suggested that initially Rómer may have been happy with his former schoolboy 'charge' being again 'firmly under his wing' at the Museum, given Hampel's appointment as Keeper in Rómer's Department. However, as Hampel became closer to the Pulszky family through his growing romantic relationship with Polixénia Pulszky, whom he married in 1883, Rómer may have become concerned about losing some of his influence over Hampel. That concern may have caused some friction in the workplace between Rómer and Hampel, adding fuel to Romer's issues with Pulszky. The decision by Rómer to resign as a Director of the National Museum in 1879 may have been partly due to such friction. The decision to resign was clearly not due to a loss of interest in the prehistory of the Magyars or in archaeology in general, since after leaving the Museum Rómer continued to pursue his interest in archaeology by other means, including presiding over the National Archaeological General Assembly in 1885. During the years following his resignation, Rómer would have been aware of Hampel marrying into the Pulszky family (1883), being elected to the Academy (1884), and then taking over editorship of Rómer's own creation, the *Archaeológiai Értesítő* journal from Pulszky's brother, Károly (1885). While it is possible that Rómer was pleased by the personal and professional advancement of Hampel, he may have viewed these changes also as Pulszky being victorious over him in usurping his influence over Hampel.

In Pulszky's 1890 article reviewing several of the Conquest-era finds, the comment he made regarding the 'German scholars' and their claimed anti-Hungarian bias (Pulszky, 1890: 13—14), may have been a cloaked jibe directed in part at the recently-deceased Rómer, who was an ethnic-German. By contrast, in the same article, Pulszky also tellingly supported the 1870 description of the Szolyva find made by Lehoczky, who like himself was an ethnic-Slav, even though Lehoczky was only an amateur archaeologist, and not a member of the Academy. The latter point raises the additional question of why would Pulszky support a former opposing military combatant, but not support a former member of his own Revolutionary forces in that same conflict? While Pulszky may have had any of several reasons, one reason suggested by the

analysis was that Rómer's way of thinking differed more to Pulszky's views than did the thinking of Lehoczky. Like Pulszky and Hampel, Lehoczky was formally trained as a lawyer and, like Pulszky, he had travelled extensively abroad, so the two men could relate to each other's experiences even if they disagreed on some issues. As Pulszky's profile showed, he was flexible in his political views, adapting to the changing environment when necessary.

A second possible reason, however, bears much greater weight for the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis and the Uralic theory. Pulszky may have been impressed by the title of Lehoczky's Szolyva report, which named the deceased in that grave as a Hun, with the ancient Huns considered in Hungarian folk thinking at the time as proud and brave warriors and fitting ancestors for the Magyars. His support of Lehoczky's report suggested that Pulszky, who was then 77 years old, was perhaps becoming embittered by what he saw as a growing acceptance of a less-than-illustrious nomadic-herdsmen heritage for the Magyars. While Pulszky was not an ethnic-Magyar, he clearly saw himself as a Magyar, as evidenced by his comment rebuking the German scholars for their support of the Uralic theory. In the same vein, Pulszky may have seen Lehoczky as an honourable former opponent in the Revolution, who also viewed Magyar ancestry in the same proud 'warrior' vein that Pulszky did, not as the undesirable nomadic-herders portrayed by supporters of the Uralic theory such as Rómer. This latter point was reinforced by Jósa's 1896 report on the Bezdéd excavations, which was published in the year of the Millennial celebrations and only a year before Pulszky died. Jósa had carried out the earlier Galgocz excavation and studied the Anarcs assemblage with his good friend Rómer. Now in 1896 he appeared also to have been tacitly supporting the Uralic theory in his report. This ongoing attachment to Rómer and his views may be one reason for Jósa never having been elected to the Academy, as Pulszky, a long-time Director of the Academy and now its Vice-President, may have been unwilling to endorse a nomination for a friend of his old adversary and especially one who supported the Uralic theory.

A final point regarding the tri-partite relationship between Pulszky, Rómer and Hampel, and one that is taken up further in the next chapter on the archaeological reporting, is that while the analysis suggested that Pulszky did not approve of the Uralic theory and its supporters, his own son-in-law Hampel appeared to have silently supported the Uralic theory in his reporting of the Conquest-era artefacts.

The Institutional and Major Event Impacts were Significant. What will the Artefacts show?

In this chapter, I have examined the individual scholars' associations with key institutions of their era, and several major events in Nineteenth-century Hungary that significantly impacted the lives of the scholars at those times, sometimes profoundly so. I have shown that the scholars' relationships with those institutions and events, both personally and professionally, played significant roles in their lives and opinions, in some cases directly affecting their lives, careers or other opportunities, and in others impacting on their relationships with other scholars.

In the next chapter, I consider the reporting of the six archaeological assemblages in the literature identified as having set the type-style for the ethnic association of ancient Magyar artefacts. With the focus in that chapter on those artefacts where ethnic associations were made or implied by the early scholars, I also track the reporting of those artefacts through time to the present, to identify changes in that reporting that may also suggest the impact of other, later influences.

Chapter 5

Artefact Reporting as a Tool in Ethnogenetic Determination: The Case Study Sites

Chapters 3 and 4 provided biographical profiles of the scholars who played major roles in the development and promotion of the Uralic theory, either as supporters or opponents, and the key institutions and major events that helped shape and promote their views. In this chapter, I review the assemblages that formed the type-style for ancient Magyar graves, a type-style that was later sought in the Urals region with the intent of supporting the Uralic theory.

As noted in Chapter 1, the Uralic theory places the ethnogenesis of the Magyars in the steppe region of the Ural Mountains, with their migration to the Carpathian Basin taking several centuries thereafter. To date, however, only a few sites found outside the Basin have been associated with the ancient Magyars and these have been determined as mostly military garrisons, with only a very small number of widely-scattered nuclear family groups adding to the mix (Fodor, 1996l: 437-439). All have been dated to either the late Ninth Century or well into the Tenth Century (Fodor, 1996l: 437-439). Coupled with their broad dispersal in all directions beyond the Carpathian Basin, the sites offer little in the way of evidence of an ethnogenesis for the Magyars in any region. Furthermore, despite the earlier travels of scholars such as Antal Reguly and, later, the Zichy expeditions in the steppe region, these sites were also discovered only well into Twentieth Century, when the Uralic theory was already being declared the only acceptable explanation for the origin of the Magyars. Thus, they were not known during the lives of the scholars in this study and did not contribute to the material culture of the issue in their time. Rather, scholars in the Nineteenth Century relied on artefact assemblages found within the Carpathian Basin that they associated with the ancient Magyars, to support their views on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis.

The Selected Sites

Among the many Nineteenth-century finds made in the Carpathian Basin (see Hampel, 1900, 1905; Fodor *et al*, 1996b), six assemblages were chosen for examination, due to their important individual and collective contributions to the development of the material culture used to support the Uralic theory. Five came from identified, although not necessarily confirmed, sites within the Basin - Benepuszta, Vereb, Galgocz, Szolyva and Bezdéd. The sixth was identified in

its first report as being from an uncertain location near the town of Anarcs, in the North-east of Hungary, (Rómer, 1870: 217–226), a few kilometres from the later discovered Bezdéd site. However, the Anarcs artefacts had been in a private collection for some years when first reported, with their actual provenance unable to be substantiated by their owner. Fig. 5.1 below shows the approximate locations of these six sites. While only four lie within the borders of today's Republic of Hungary, and two (Szolyva and Galgocz) now form part of the neighbouring countries of Ukraine and Slovakia, all were within the then territory of the Magyar Kingdom at the time of their discovery.

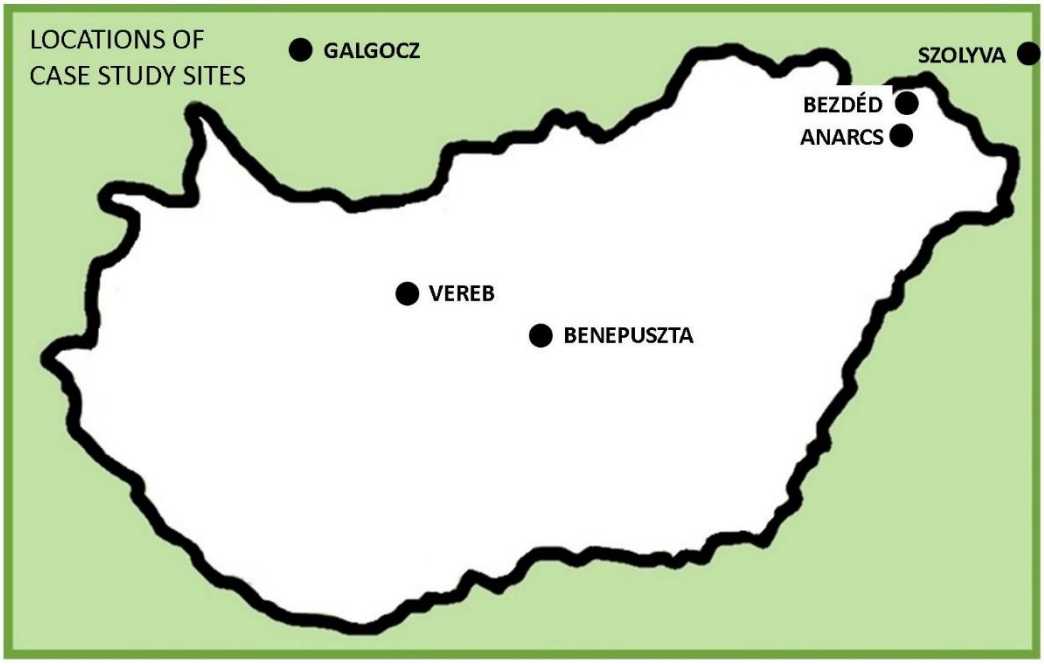


Fig. 5.1 – Outline map of present-day Hungary and its surrounding region, showing the approximate locations of the six sites. (prepared by Author, June 2016)

Descriptions of the six assemblages are presented here in the order of their initial reports. HNM Inventory numbers in each heading are those numbers assigned to the assemblages by the Hungarian National Museum. I have concentrated here on those artefacts from each assemblage where the scholars' reports have included explicit or implied ethnic associations, Magyar or another, for the artefacts.[103] Each description mentions the organic remains that were found. However, no biological remains, or samples, were examined for the study and no detailed comparative discussion of the reporting on the biological anthropology of each site has been provided, as such analysis falls outside the scope of this study.

[103] More information about the artefacts for each assemblage is provided in Appendices 6-11.

The procedure followed in examining the artefact assemblages was largely dictated by the protocols of the Hungarian National Museum (see Appendix 1). While necessary to ensure the safety and security of the artefacts, it should be noted that the detailed handling and recording procedure for the Museum had an impact on the knowledge to be gained during the limited research period, as assemblages could not be re-examined if an idea or concern about an artefact arose after the collection had been returned to the storage vault. Also, while comprehensive and strictly applied, the Museum's recording system for the movement of artefacts from and to the storage vaults proved fallible, with several discrepancies noted between the Museum's Exhibition Catalogue published for the 1100th Anniversary of the Conquest (Fodor *et al*, 1996b) and the contents of the six assemblages presented for my examination. Some discrepancies were able to be explained by artefacts being on loan to other museums; however, others were not accounted for and some artefacts could only be noted as absent when drafting this document.[104]

In addition to the six assemblages requested, two unrequested artefacts were presented for my examination. The first was an iron sabre with silver gilt trimmings, that had been found among graves near the town of Tarczal in 1894; while the second was a silver sabretache coverplate from a grave found in a group of burials at Bodrogvécs in 1897. Although these artefacts were not requested, their inclusion in the reports by some scholars as comparisons for their artefact descriptions, later proved relevant to the study and I thank the National Museum for their foresight in this regard and the opportunity to have viewed and examined them.

Benepuszta (HNM Inventory Nos. 9/1846, 10/1846)

As discussed in Chapter 3, the antiquarian Miklós Jankowich reported a find made in the Benepuszta area as the grave of an ancient Magyar known in local legend as the 'Brave Warrior' of Bene (Jankowich, 1835: 281—296). Jankowich had not visited the gravesite or viewed its full original contents (Jankowich, 1835: 281; Révész, 2011: pers. comm). Instead, he had accepted the information he received from the county sub-prefect, Móric Szentkirályi, compiling his report from a combination of that information and his own interpretations of the assemblage as it was comprised when he subsequently viewed it (Jankowich, 1835: 281—296).

Jankowich reported in 1835 that the find was made in mid-1834 in the Jász area of Bács-Kiskun County, when strong winds had uncovered the grave, which had been lying in a thin sand layer of a field on the Bene plain (Jankowich, 1835: 282). His report identified the finders only as

[104] See Appendix 5 for the observations made during my examination of the artefacts.

shepherds who had retained a few artefacts and then alerted Szentkirályi, who subsequently collected the remaining artefacts (Jankowich, 1835: 282). According to Jankowich, Szentkirályi had reasoned that each piece could provide 'enlightenment' about the others in the assemblage and enable a more rapid understanding of the whole find (Jankowich, 1835: 282). Szentkirályi apparently then had passed the artefacts to Jankowich, who held them in his private collection until his death in 1846 (Jankowich, 1835: 282), when the proceeds of their sale to the National Museum assisted in meeting his substantial debts.

The report by Jankowich was published in the second edition of the Yearbook, *Értekezések* [in English, Treatises] of the newly-established Hungarian Learned Society (later the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). As the first report to specify a Conquest-era Magyar ancestry for the deceased, it naturally created excitement among scholars and quickly set the type-style for future associations of burial material culture with the Conquest-era Magyars. As suggested in Chapter 3, the ethnic association of this find as ancient Magyar, and his more specific identification of the deceased as the legendary 'Brave Warrior of Bene', may have been motivated in part by Jankowich's need to greatly improve his dire financial circumstances and enable him to continue his passion for collecting.

Biological Anthropology Aspects of the Benepuszta Find

In his report, Jankowich recorded human skeletal remains and a set of equine long bones and skull had been found (Jankowich, 1835: 283). However, only a human cranium and mandible were passed to the National Museum in 1846 and then moved to the new Ethnographic Museum in Budapest when it was established in 1872 (Szeljak, 2017: "A Múzeum Története"). The fate of any other such remains is unknown.

While examination of the existing remains to verify their assessment by Jankowich was outside the scope of this study, his mention of the skeletal remains necessitated some brief commentary, in light of later criticism of his conclusions. Jankowich claimed the deceased had been an adult male warrior who had migrated with a group from the East in the Ninth Century (Jankowich, 1835: 284). To make his assessment, Jankowich (1835: 284) applied the writings of Göttingen University natural scientist, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752—1840),[105] who earlier had differentiated cranial types into racial groupings (Blumenbach, 1775; Michael Schultz, 2017: "The Blumenbach Skull Collection"; Michael A. Little & Robert H. Sussman, 2010:

[105] As noted in Chapter 3, Sámuel Gyarmathi had met and been encouraged in his research by Blumenbach during his time at Göttingen University.

13). Jankowich also noted verbal comments from medical doctors, Xavér Ferenc Gebhardt (1791—1869) and Pál Bugat (1793—1865), both Full Member colleagues of Jankowich within the Academy (Glatz, 2003). According to Jankowich, Gebhardt and Bugat had remarked that the Benepuszta cranium displayed Caucasian features, supporting his contention the deceased had migrated from the Caucasus region to the Carpathian Basin with the other Conquest-era Magyars (Jankowich, 1835: 284). The bio-anthropological assessment made by Jankowich of the deceased's ethnicity would not have been considered unreasonable in the Nineteenth Century (Little & Sussman, 2010: 13—16). However, the field of biological anthropology has developed considerably over the 180 years since that time and claims of racial categorisation based on the embryonic analytical methods available to Nineteenth-century scholars, would be largely dismissed by bio-anthropologists today (Little & Sussman, 2010: 23—33).

Furthermore, while not having verified the provenance of the grave or the condition of the skeletal remains when unearthed, Jankowich confidently reported the remains and their accompanying artefacts as clearly showing the deceased to have been a Magyar horseman around 30—40 years of age (Jankowich, 1835: 287, 283). Noting the cranium, especially the forehead, showed signs of the 'warrior' having fought in many perilous battles, Jankowich determined that these marks had been made by a sword blade and the warrior had died from a large open cut on the right of his skull (Jankowich, 1835: 281, 283). However, 91 years later, Hungarian anthropologist Lajos Bártucz examined the Benepuszta cranium and assessed the deceased to have been a male aged approximately 60 years (Bartucz, 1926: 21, Table XXXII; 1927: 25, Fig.IX), exceeding Jankowich's claim by 20—30 years. Bartucz described the size, shape and wounds of the cranium and jaw bones, and agreed with Jankowich that the large wound had been created by a sword and, although the deceased had survived several battles, he had experienced complications with the healing of this wound (Bartucz, 1926: 21). Bartucz further claimed the cranium displayed both Caucasian and Mongoloid racial features (Bartucz, 1926: 21, 1927: 25) which, as with the earlier Caucasian-only claim by Jankowich, still reflected the relatively immature nature of bio-anthropological assessment in the early-Twentieth Century (Little & Sussman, 2010: 16—24).

The Artefact Assemblage of Benepuszta

Jankowich reported an array of artefacts had been found with the skeletal remains, including weapons and horse-harnessing accoutrements, a large cache of clothing ornaments and a hoard of coins (Jankowich, 1835: 282—296). Archaeologist János Érdy, Keeper of Antiquities at the Museum in 1846, had catalogued the newly-acquired Benepuszta assemblage (Pulszky, 1890:

7), which was relocated to the new Museum building in Pest when that construction was completed soon after. It is not known how well the artefacts Jankowich received from Szentkirályi had been preserved while in his possession; or whether the Museum had received the entire assemblage in 1846. However, in 1985, Hungarian archaeologist Emese Nagy reviewed the acquisition of the Jankowich collection and noted that several artefacts had been donated to the Museum before his 1835 Benepuszta report and that Jankowich had assessed these earlier donations as Roman artefacts (Nagy, 1985: 128). However, the coins in the Benepuszta assemblage (to be discussed later) had given Jankowich the date-range for this find and caused him to reconsider his dating and ethnic association of those other artefacts (Nagy, 1985: 128; Langó, 2005: 195 fn138).

Sword or Sabre, and Arrowheads (not in HNM Store)

Jankowich reported a long-bladed artefact he described as a sword, had been part of the original find but had been split into three parts by the shepherds, with each shepherd retaining one part (Jankowich, 1835: 285). For its description, Jankowich relied on Szentkirályi's information, and reported the original length as: more than ‘’five hands', but only ‘four hands' long when recovered, and ‘one finger' wide (Jankowich, 1835: 285). He further noted that the artefact had probably been of gilded silver, although it was heavily corroded when found, concealing any possible inscription (Jankowich, 1835: 285). If Jankowich's description was accurate, this artefact could have been used only for ceremonial or display purposes, as silver is too soft a metal to have been suitable for a combat weapon. Jankowich also emphatically claimed that it was a sword and that the sword was the true weapon of the ancient Magyars, rather than the sabre which was in common use in his time (Jankowich, 1835: 285). Claiming that the use of sabres had been adopted only after the Conquest Era, during extensive battles against the Turks, Jankowich referred to prominent collections held in the Seventeenth Century by Count Ferencz Bethlen, Prince Ákos Barcsai, and military Captain Gábor Dulo (Jankowich, 1835: 285). In those three collections, all the blades had been straight-edged like swords (Jankowich, 1835: 286), not curved like sabres.

In 1937, Hungarian archaeologist and metallurgist Nándor Fettich published on the metallic artefacts associated to that time with the Conquest Era, both within the Carpathian Basin and further afield in the Ukraine along the claimed migratory pathway. Fettich criticised Jankowich and other early scholars for inadequately considering the artefacts and presenting an incomplete picture of the finds they made (Fettich, 1937: 67). To illustrate his point, Fettich discussed the Benepuszta artefacts, in particular this weapon. While agreeing with Jankowich

about it having been a straight-edge sword, Fettich declared its style as Norman, and possibly acquired during contact with raiding Vikings (Fettich, 1937: 68).[106] He further noted that the presence of a Norman-style sword among the gravegoods was unsurprising when found beside a niello-decorated[107] belt strap-end (Fettich, 1937: 68).

In 1980, Hungarian archaeologist László Kovács re-evaluated the Jankowich report and claimed to have conclusively determined the weapon was a sabre, not a sword, although he did not proffer his evidence for that conclusion (Kovács, 1980: 315). Some years later, archaeologist László Révész agreed with Kovács that Jankowich and Fettich had erred and the artefact more probably had been a sabre (Révész, 1996b: 338), but again without explanation.

Nine years on, a third Hungarian archaeologist Péter Langó (2005: 194, 2007: 63) concurred, basing his view on a remark by Nineteenth-century Hungarian scholar György Jankovich Fejér (1817). Fejér had written that he had held in his hands the large broadswords (Langó translated this as 'claymores') that from the Tenth Century onwards had been used also by the Magyars (Fejér, 1817: 34. Langó, 2005: 193 fn.130, 2007: 63).

Langó dismissed claims by the early-Twentieth-century explorer, Count István Zichy (1923: 7—8), repeated by Fettich (1937: 68), that the artefact had been a Viking sword (Lángó, 2005: 193—194, 2007: 64). Despite their disputing the claim by Jankowich as to the form of this weapon, all scholars after him nevertheless appeared to have accepted unequivocally his claim that a long-bladed artefact had been among the original assemblage, even though they had no evidence for its existence beyond his report.

In addition to this disputed weapon, Jankowich reported several iron arrowheads had been among the find but were not present during his viewing of the assemblage. Nonetheless, he reported they had not resembled the 'snake-like' style of Greek, Roman or eastern arrowheads, but had been a 'pointed and flat-leaf' shape, and possibly 'three fingers' long (Jankowich, 1835: 285). In contrast to the multiple discussions on the long-bladed weapon, later writers did not mention these arrowheads.

[106] Einar Joranson noted that the earliest reported date for Norman knights arriving as a force in southern Italy was 999 and, further, that some provided mercenary services to local rulers (Joranson, 1948: 355, fn19). Joranson also suggested that some Viking warriors possibly arrived earlier than the larger contingent of Norman knights, perhaps in raiding parties (Joranson, 1948: 355, fn19). If so, then this sword may have belonged to such an early arrival and had been acquired as a spoil of war, as it would seem unlikely that a warrior, Viking or other, would willingly hand over to another a weapon that could save his own life in battle. For more on the Normans, see also Reginald Allen Brown (1984: 97).

[107] Niello is a black colourant composed of silver, copper, lead and sulphur (Arthur Delbridge & J.R.L. Bernard, eds., 1988: 656).

Belt strap-end (HNM Inv. # 9/1846.7)

Jankowich described an etched, finely gilded silver artefact, with traces of niello or platinum coating on the silver, that he supposed had decorated the end of a belt strap (Jankowich, 1835: 288). Its motif was a winged and four-legged clawed gryphon, its tail and legs surrounded by leaves, which he stressed had no equivalent among Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman or other western peoples, but rather was north-Asian in style (Jankowich, 1835: 288) - by which he possibly meant a Chinese or Mongolian manufacture. Noting that Érdy had inventoried this artefact as a silver buckle decorated with a winged-lion motif, Pulszky described it as showing a "fantastic animal in high-relief, with its muscles highlighted by niello" (Pulszky, 1890: 7), bearing some analogies to an enamelled ornamental disc found in 1889 at Keszthely-Ketlach and reported by Austrian historian Matthäus Much (1889: XCLIII, Plate 9; also Pulszky, 1890: 7).

Featured in subsequent writings on the assemblage (Hampel, 1900: 546—550; Fettich, 1937: 67—72; Dienes, 1972; Révész, 1996a: 338—340; Langó, 2005: 194, 2007: 63 Figs. 28—29), Hungarian archaeologist István Dienes praised the artefact as "one of the finest finds from the Conquest period…blending oriental and western elements" (Dienes, 1972: 10 Fig.2). Thirty-five years before Dienes, as with the long-bladed weapon, Fettich claimed this belt strap-end as stylistically Norman (Fettich, 1937:71), although he also claimed these artefacts had entered the Carpathian Basin from the East (Fettich, 1937: 70). Three years after Fettich, Swedish archaeologist Carl-Axel Moberg reviewed the motif and concurred with Fettich that its niello-colouring was of Norman-style but declared that the reverse-side rivets and a floral decoration on the obverse bore Carolingian features (Moberg, 1940: 146—151). Despite these conflicting characteristics, Moberg then concluded the artefact displayed more Byzantine parallels and should be considered in that light (Moberg, 1940: 150—151). However, he did not pursue the possibilities invoked by such an eclectic mix of styles. Basing his opinion on Moberg's review, Langó later dismissed any Norman-style ('Viking') claim (Langó, 2005: 194 fn135, 2007: 63 Figs. 28—29).

Noting the prominence of this belt strap-end in writings on the Benepuszta assemblage and the readiness of scholars since Jankowich to accept it as Magyar, a final point to mention is that the foliage depicted on its two sides had been described by several scholars as trefoil, or more specifically, as a palmette (e.g. Hampel, 1900: 546—550, 1905: II9, 472—476; Fettich, 1937: 67—72; Révész, 1996a: 338). Hungarian scholars from the Nineteenth Century onwards appear to have generally agreed that the trefoil palmette is an iconic symbol for the ancient Magyars (e.g. Hampel, 1905: 105—152; Fettich, 1937: 67—72; Fodor, 1996f: 32; Révész, 1996b: 72, 1996d:

79), appearing as it has in many forms on gravegoods and settlement artefacts dated to the Conquest and early post-Conquest eras.

Ornamental Mounts (HNM Inv. # 9/1846.1—6)

While varying interpretations of the larger artefacts dominated disagreements in the reporting, the study observed discord among the scholars also regarding the smaller artefacts, in particular significant variations in the number and style of mounts (see Appendix 4).The only ethnicity-related comment regarding these artefacts, however, was by Jankowich, who claimed that gold and silver ornamentation only appeared in the Carpathian Basin at the same time as the Magyars and, therefore, that the presence of silver accoutrements among the gravegoods indicated a Magyar ethnicity for the deceased (Jankowich, 1835: 282). Jankowich had based this claim on an earlier text by German jurist and historian Johann Peter von Ludewig (1668—1743), in which Ludewig had discussed the early coinage of the Carpathian region (Ludewig, 1752: 97—98). Jankowich attributed to Ludewig an assertion that the Roman Emperor Julius Caesar (c.100-44BC), and historian Cornelius Tacitus (c.55-1117AD)[108] had viewed the ancient Britons as 'naked and painted' warriors (Ludewig, 1752: 53, 66), and the attire of the Germans as 'wolf and bear skin' with headdresses of 'goat, deer and wild-bull horns' (Ludewig, 1752: 253). Jankowich used his interpretation of Ludewig to indicate the 'primitiveness' of those ethnic groups and, therefore, of the inability of their descendants to possess precious metal objects before the Magyars' arrival (Jankowich, 1835: 282). A perusal of the Ludewig text did reveal a reference to nakedness (Ludewig, 1752: 67), however, the remainder of the claim by Jankowich about Ludewig could not be found.[109] Therefore, instead of the Ludewig text supporting Jankowich, it only served to highlight a bias by Jankowich against those other ethnic groups.

Coins (HNM Inv. #10/1846)

Jankowich reported between 30 and 40 silver coins had been found under the skeletal remains (Jankowich, 1835: 290), presumably as informed by Szentkirályi. Observing some coins bearing the insignia of King (then Emperor) Berengar I (r. in Italy 888—924CE), Jankowich dated the grave

[108] For a brief note on the life of Julius Caesar, see Gorell, 1961a: 448. A comprehensive description of his life is found in Plutarch (1919 Vol. 7: 443-609). For a brief note on the life of Cornelius Tacitus, see Gorell, 1961b: 2545. A comprehensive description of his life has not been written and what is known generally is inferred from his texts on the lives and activities of others. The two most famous of these were written c.98AD. *De Origine et situ Germanorum* [in English, On the Origin and Situation of the Germans] but more commonly referred to as *Germania*, recorded information sourced from others about the peoples today called Germani. It was thought to have been lost, until a partial copy was found in the Hersfeld Abbey in Germany in 1425 and dubbed the *Codex Hersfeldensis*. A section called 'Britannia' in the text *De vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae* [In English, On the life and character of Julius Agricola], was a biography on his father-in-law, but also briefly reported on the peoples of Britain.

[109] Also, Tacitus XVII referred only to the Germans wearing the skins of beasts, but not to the more specific description claimed by Jankowich as being noted in that regard by Ludewig.

to the first decades of the Tenth Century and concluded the deceased had been among the Magyars arriving in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the Ninth Century (Jankowich, 1835: 289—290).

Concentrating on the 'Berengar' insignia, Jankowich devoted several pages to its comparison within historical documents from his extensive personal library. Citing works by Muratorius (915, 922), Balusius (922), Duchesne (922), Sigler (after 926) and Antonio Bonfini (1495) (Jankowich, 1835: 289—295), Jankowich focussed on any instance where the ancient Magyars, led by their Prince Zoltán (a son of Árpád), were mentioned as having been in Italy or fought in military campaigns alongside Berengar's army (Jankowich, 1835: 290—292). Coupling these instances and later texts by Székely (1559), Heltai (1575), Pethő (1660), Lisznyai (1690) and Fessler (1815: 278), Jankowich grew in confidence that the skeletal remains were a Magyar warrior who had fought in those campaigns.[110] However, his exuberance in dating the grave via the coins suffered from the means of their finding. As Jankowich noted, shepherds had found the grave and handed the gravegoods to Szentkirályi who, in turn, had shown them to him (Jankowich, 1835: 281—282). Jankowich had not seen the grave in context and had no means of knowing if the artefacts had come from a sealed grave or its original complete contents. Thus, while the coins most probably had come from the grave, Jankowich could not be certain of it.

Pulszky later wrote that the coins comprised 30 or 40 'Berengar type' pieces dated between 915 and 923CE, each with a pierced hole for sewing it onto a robe (Pulszky, 1890: 6). He noted that Érdy had listed only 12 coins among the assemblage in the National Museum (Pulszky, 1890: 6) and that Szentkirályi, not Jankowich, had gifted them to the Museum (Pulszky, 1890: 7). Later still, Hampel (1905: 475—476) referred to Pulszky's article, but specified 30 coins, not the 'near 30 or 40' originally reported (Jankowich, 1835: 289) or the more specific '30 or 40 [but] catalogued as only 12 pieces' noted by Pulszky (1890: 6-7). Hampel remarked that all the coins had been impressed with the insignia of either King or Emperor Berengar and, based on the holes, had been used as jewellery (Hampel, 1905: 475—476). He described in detail the inscriptions on only nine coins, not the 12 claimed by Pulszky, and noted only one possible further fragment (Hampel, 1905: 475—476). However, Hampel contradicted himself when individually describing the coins, noting several impressed with figures other than Berengar. He recorded two imprinted respectively with the insignias of King and Emperor Charles the Bald of

[110] According to local legend, one Magyar warrior had impressed Prince Zoltán with his bravery and was rewarded with the grant of a large tract of land in the Bene area. The lavishness of the original Benepuszta assemblage as described by Szentkirályi, and wounds Jankowich observed on the human cranium, convinced him that the remains he saw were those of that warrior (Jankowich, 1835: 281, 290—296).

France (reigned 844—877CE), one with the insignias of Pope Nicholas (858—867) and Emperor Ludwig Nicholaus II (844—875), one with Pope Benedict IV (900—903) (Hampel, 1905: 475—476), and a fifth with both Berengar and Pope John IX (898 to 900) (Hampel, 1905: 476). Only four were described with the insignia of Berengar alone (Hampel, 1905: 476).

Criticising Hampel, Fettich claimed he had confused the Benepuszta coins with some from other sites (Fettich, 1937: 68). Using the original Museum inventory and Jankowich's report, Fettich deduced that nine coins described by Hampel as belonging to the Benepuszta hoard, actually belonged to the later-found Vereb assemblage, while some coins described with the Vereb find, belonged to the Benepuszta assemblage (Fettich, 1937: 68). Fettich (1937: 68) blamed the confusion on hand-written notes prepared for Hampel by the Museum's curator, László Réthy (1851-1914).[111] Apparently, those notes were responsible for Hampel adding two coins from Provence, France, to the Benepuszta collection (Fettich, 1937: 68), presumably the two coins noted earlier as imprinted with the insignias of King or Emperor Charles the Bald of France. Noting that numismatist, Lajos Huszár, had established the Benepuszta coins were all from the reign of Berengar I (888—924) (Fettich, 1937: 69), Fettich illustrated only eight near-complete coins and three partials in his volume (Fettich, 1937: Plate. XXXVII, Nos. 1—11, 1A—11A), while recording he had also seen the empty case for a twelfth piece (Fettich, 1937: 70). The eight displayed coins bore the name of Berengar in various forms (Berencarius Rex, Berengaruss Rex, Berenikarius Rex, Bern[eg]ari[v mp] and Berenikarivsi) (Fettich, 1937: 70). One also bore the name 'P[etrv]' in its centre, while another showed the monogram of Pope John X (914—928CE) (Fettich, 1937: 70), not Pope John IX as described earlier by Hampel (1905: 476).

Among later scholars, only László Révész commented on the coins, noting only that they "suggest that the warrior had been buried in the 930s, and had thus participated in the Conquest and in ensuing military expeditions" (Révész, 1996c: 338).

General Observation on the Benepuszta Assemblage

Since the original discovery, no further excavation has been carried out in the area to gain some understanding of the provenance of the find or to seek further evidence of its likely age, with later reports only examining the artefacts in the Museum or quoting from the Jankowich report Consequently, no scholar, including Jankowich, has been able to justifiably claim certainty over

[111] László Réthy (1851-1914) (Glatz, 2003: 'R') was a numismatist and curator at the Museum in Hampel's day and apparently assisted Hampel with the preparation of his texts, by delivering the artefacts to him (Fettich, 1937: 68). In 1914, Aladár Schöpflin wrote that Réthy was the first to claim that the Magyars originated in the Carpathian Basin, and then erroneoulsy added that Vámbéry also had taken up that view (Schöpflin, 1914:"Figyelő: Réthy László").

the original contents of the grave or their placement within the pit - factors that would have confirmed an association of the gravegoods with the deceased and added weight to the claim of his Magyar ethnicity. Despite the absence of such supplemental work, later scholars have consistently accepted the claim by Jankowich as to the Magyar ethnicity of the Benepuszta deceased, even where they had otherwise disputed the nature of the grave contents.

Vereb (HNM Inv. #21/1853)

The second assemblage was from a single grave discovered on 9th May 1853 in a field on the estate of landowner, János Vegh, during road maintenance between the villages of Vereb and Lovasberény. Vegh excavated the site, collected the artefacts and examined them, before giving them to his friend, archaeologist Érdy, who published a report on the find five years later, in which he identified the grave as that of a Magyar male warrior with cranial trepanation, buried with the bones of his horse, sometime after 924CE (Érdy, 1858: 14—27). The publication in 1858 made the Vereb find only the second one, after Benepuszta, to be publicly declared as ancient Magyar, with its ethnic identification significantly influenced by the assumptions and conclusions Jankowich had made regarding the Benepuszta find (Érdy, 1858: 15). In that vein, Érdy referred to the gravesite as 'pagan' and the skeletal remains as those of a Magyar horseman whose grave resembled the one found in 1834 "in the sandy Bene Plains of Kiskunság", with both graves uncovered by strong winds (Érdy, 1858: 15—16). In 1996, a further *control excavation* of the Vereb site was conducted by archaeologists, István Fodor and Révész, in the hope of locating further graves (see Mesterházy, 1996a: 375). None were found, and they published no report. However, another Hungarian archaeologist Károly Mesterházy recorded that Fodor and Révész had concluded the original find was from either "a solitary burial or part of a small burial ground whose graves were destroyed when the road bisecting the small mound was first constructed" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375).

After Érdy's initial report, several scholars re-examined the Vereb assemblage or quoted at length from earlier reports on it. The most notable early scholars who commented on an ethnic association for the Vereb artefacts were Pulszky (1890), Hampel (1900, 1904, 1905), and somewhat later, Fettich (1937). Archaeologist Géza Nagy (1892) also made some ethnically-associative references to the Vereb find when discussing more broadly finds from the Conquest Era. Later scholars have either added to the analysis of these early scholars or expressed views that suggest a level of discernible influence on their work from their predecessors. Among the large corpus of more recently published material, articles by István Erdélyi (1978) and

Mesterházy (1996a: 375—376) exemplify the general views of these later scholars. Their writings, with that of the early scholars, are discussed further below.

Biological Anthropology Aspects of the Vereb Find

While not a biological anthropologist, Érdy, like Jankowich, had included brief anthropological comments in his report. Noting first a large cranial wound suggesting a blow from a sword, hatchet or other blunt weapon, Érdy reported a silver-plate covering the wound as indicating the deceased had survived this wound and participated in later battles in the same region (Érdy, 1858: 15). Pulszky, later noted only that the skeletal remains were those of a young 'heathen or pagan' horseman (Pulszky, 1890: 10), that is, someone who preceded the Roman Catholic conversion of the Magyars begun in 970CE under Prince Géza (see Chapter 2). Directly quoting Érdy (1858), Pulszky also noted the equine bones were buried above the skeletal remains (Pulszky, 1890: 10).

Nagy also noted the cranial trepanation and its silver-plate sealing, adding that research after 1858 had demonstrated that drilling cranial holes and placing amulets into them was a common practice among 'barbarian' peoples and that the Vereb cranial treatment indicated the ancient Magyars had a similar custom (Nagy, 1892: 301). On the matter of ethnicity, Nagy reported that the placement of the equestrian equipment in the Vereb grave and in two others at Piliny and Szolyva (see later in this chapter for Szolyva) confirmed the practice of laying down the horse with its skull beside the cranium, that was also in evidence in graves at Székesfehérvár, Nemes-Ócsa, Csorna-Csatár, Szeged-Bojárhalom, Pörös-Horgos and Szeged-Öthalom (Nagy, 1892: 301). Such 'horse burials', Nagy noted, had been found in kurgan burials in southern Russia, and a Russian archaeologist, G.L. Skadovskij,[112] had claimed that burying a horse with human skeletal remains was an ancient practice harking to the earlier Scythian era (Nagy, 1892: 301). Nagy also reflected that Russian archaeologists, Dmitry Yakovlevich Samokvasov (1843—1911) and Vladimir Bonifatievich Antonovich (1834—1908), had found equestrian equipment in Slav graves in 1884 and 1896 respectively (Nagy, 1892: 301). Nagy, however, did not extrapolate further on any potential cultural similarity.

A decade later, Hampel recorded that an anthropological report on the Vereb find by doctor and anthropologist József Lenhossék (1882: 13), when combined with Pulszky's archaeological report on the site (Pulszky, 1890: 10—12), had enabled him to report briefly on the condition

[112] G.L. Skadovskij later visited the island of Berezan in search of further evidence of Scythian culture, conducting excavations there in 1900 and 1901 (Minns, 1971: 452 fn1, 479). However, his excavation reports were not accessed, due to my inability to read and translate them.

and placement of the human and equine remains. Hampel noted the cranial trepanation and a piece of silver-foil sealing the hole (Hampel, 1905: 485). He further advised that the feet-bones had been oriented to the East, while the cranium had faced West, and the bones of the right hand had decayed (Hampel, 1905: 485). The equine bones had lain above the skeleton in the centre of the pit, with the two sets of remains filling the pit's entire length (Hampel, 1905: 485). While noting Lenhossék's report on the cranial trepanation and silver-foil covering (Lenhossék, 1882: 13; Hampel, 1905: 485), Hampel did not note the condition of the skeleton or whether the silver-foil remained attached to the cranium. Erdélyi later reported the deceased as a 20—24 years old male, and that his cranial wound indicated survival for at least a year beyond the trepanning operation (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). While noting the silver-foil covering (Erdélyi, 1978: 287), Erdélyi did not illustrate or offer further information on it. Mesterházy later reiterated the skeleton as of a male 'warrior' who had survived cranial trepanation (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375), adding only that he had "belonged to the first generation of the Conquest period" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375). Thus, only Érdy and Lenhossék offered new information on the bioanthropological aspects of the find, with later scholars simply repeating elements of their assessments.

The Artefact Assemblage of Vereb

Érdy recorded the Vereb assemblage as comprising weaponry, equestrian equipment, clothing items, jewellery and other ornaments, and a small hoard of coins (Érdy, 1858: 14—27).

Arrowheads (HNM Inv. 21/1853. Individual numbers indecipherable)

Unlike the Benepuszta find, the only weapons reported by Érdy from the Vereb grave were six arrowheads (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate III. 14; Nagy, 1892: 300; Hampel, 1905: 485; and Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Thus, it would be safe to assume that Érdy's initial assessment of a 'warrior' occupation for the deceased was based on the presence of these arrowheads together with the cranial wound he observed, as noted above, combined with some influence from Jankowich's earlier report on the Benepuszta 'Brave Warrior' (Jankowich, 1835). On the matter of ethnic association, Érdy (1858: 15) stressed that the fastening of an arrow tip to its shaft differed between the West and the East (that is, between Europe and Asia). In the West, he asserted, the shafts were punctured, with the ends of arrowheads inserted into the holes, whereas in the East gaps were carved into the arrowhead ends to accommodate the shafts (Érdy, 1858: 15). Érdy, however, did not expand that observation by associating the Vereb arrowheads with either a western or eastern stylistic origin. In 1978, Erdélyi did, however, favourably compare the Vereb assemblage with finds made in 1900 in the region of the Don and Ment rivers by Russian

archaeologist D.I. Popov – whose report, Erdélyi claimed, had been lost during World War II (Erdélyi, 1978: 287).[113]

Stirrups (HNM Inv. 21/1853.12)

Two heavily corroded, iron stirrups were initially reported (Érdy, 1858: Plate II. 1). Citing German archaeologist Johann Karl Bähr (1850:4, Plates XVI. 6.7.8.), Érdy compared these favourably to some found in graves in Livland,[114] implying a similar manufacture. If that comparison had merit, four possibilities were seen for the possession of these stirrups by the Vereb 'warrior'. The first was that he had travelled widely and acquired them in that distant region. A second was that he had obtained them through trade closer to or within the Carpathian Basin. Both possibilities allowed for his having been of any ethnicity with access to those means. A third possibility was that he had come from that far-off region, raising some question over his Magyar ethnicity. While a fourth prospect was that the stirrups were of a style more generally associated with Finno-Ugric speakers wherever they might be found. Érdy, however, did not explore any of these explanations, preferring to accept unquestioningly that the deceased had been a Magyar warrior, while effectively ignoring his own observations.

Pulszky only repeated that two stirrups had been found resembling those in Livland graves (Pulszky, 1890: 10). Whereas Nagy mentioned the equestrian equipment only as a set (Nagy, 1892: 301) and resembling later finds at Piliny and Szolyva (Nagy, 1892: 300), which he connected with the 'Scythian' practice of burying a horse with the skeletal remains (noted earlier). Hampel made no specific reference to an ethnic or other association for them. However, his inclusion of the Vereb assemblage in his compilation text rather suggested he had either accepted a Magyar ethnicity for the deceased, or had taken an uncommitted stance, avoiding or ignoring the issue of ethnicity altogether. As will be discussed later, Hampel's close association with Pulszky may have influenced his approach to the ethnicity question when dealing with these artefacts.

Erdélyi (1978: 287) did not mention the Vereb stirrups. While he may have simply overlooked them, it needs to be remembered that his article was promoting a Saltovo-culture[115] connection.

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[113] For more on Popov's work, see also a translation by Pál Hunfalvy (1872).

[114] Livland is the German name for a region more commonly known as Livonia, inhabited by a people called Livs, who have been categorised linguistically in the Finno-Ugric language family. The region is located along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. While its long history has seen many changes in rulership, since 1990 the territory has been divided between the countries of Latvia and Estonia (Chisholm, 1911: Vol. 16 'Livonia'; Norman Davies, 1996: 555; Bojtár, 1999: 172).

[115] Saltovo-culture is the name given by archaeologists to a collection of ethnic groups who resided in the Pontic steppe region from c.750 to the Tenth Century, and is associated with the Khazarian Khaganate (Golden, Peter, Haggai Ben-Shammai & András Róna-Tas, 2007: 221).

Thus, his omission of stirrups Érdy had associated with a possible Livland origin (Érdy, 1858: 14), makes one wonder if Erdélyi was attempting to disregard a possible alternative ethnic explanation. Mesterházy, later, only noted the shape of the stirrups but made no comment about their place of origin, although he included them in a text on the ancient Magyars, suggesting his acceptance of that ethnicity for their owner (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376).

Bit and Ring (HNM 21/1853.13)

Érdy reported a bit as iron, heavily rusted, and of the type used on a young horse, but differing noticeably in shape from the type of bit found in German graves (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate II. 2). Pulszky (1890: 14), although quoting Érdy on the bit, notably omitted the reference to bits in German graves (Érdy, 1858: 14). Hampel went further than Pulszky in describing the form and condition of the artefact (Hampel, 1905: 487 Pl. 347 Fig.3), but then followed Pulszky's example by omitting discussion of its style or usage and making no ethnicity-related comment.

Strap end (HNM Inv: 21/1853.7)

Near a silver buckle in the gravepit, Érdy noted a piece of low-grade silver-plate with four small headed-nails on its reverse (Érdy, 1858: Plate III:9). While other scholars (Pulszky, 1890: 11; Nagy, 1892: 301; Hampel, 1905: 486; Mesterházy, 1996a: 376) only debated the composition of this artefact as either silver or bronze, Erdélyi noted its engraving as similar in shape and finish to Popov's Bujlovka (Russia) shield-styled mounts (Erdélyi, 1978: 287, 290 Fig.4), indicating his support for its manufacture in that region.

Ornamental Mounts (HNM Inv: 21/1853.3, 4, 10, 11)

A range of ornamental mounts were reported by Érdy as similar to the Benepuszta find (Jankowich, 1835) and another assemblage found in 1853 at Herpály Plain in Bihár County (Érdy, 1858: 16). Describing 29 of these artefacts collectively as 'mounts' with four design variations, he noted the composition of each as low-grade silver half mixed with copper, with two small headed-nails on the reverse of those displaying puncture holes (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate III.6). All mounts found in other burials, he further noted, bore only three prominent nails on their reverse sides (Érdy, 1858: 14), but proffered no explanation for the difference here. Pulszky (1890: 10) mimicked Érdy's report on these mounts, with only minor spelling alterations probably reflective of the nationalist-inspired changes in accepted spelling of Magyar words taking place across the Kingdom in the late-Nineteenth Century, as noted in Chapter 2. Unlike Érdy and Pulszky, later

scholars mostly reported on these mounts by individual type, so I have adopted that same method in their descriptions that follow.

Pentagonal Mount with Ring (HNM Inv: 21/1853.3)

Érdy did not mention this artefact in his report, despite its clear distinctiveness among the collection. Hampel was more detailed, describing it as a jewellery piece with a ring attachment, decorated with a motif displaying a lacy border and a trefoil flower stem on a small pentagonal plate (Hampel, 1904: 121). However, he then revised that description to an ornamental plate in gilded bronze with a pentagonal tile appendage (Hampel, 1905: 485, Pl. 346.4), thereby indicating his uncertainty over its function. Erdélyi later claimed the artefact was a ring pendant gilded belt mount with a palmette motif that had been imported from the East, probably as a garniture[116] piece, while also comparing it stylistically to the Saltovo-culture (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy described this 41mm long mount as pentagonal-shaped with a wide ring suspended from the pentagon, made of gilded cast bronze and ornamented with a cinquefoil palmette he claimed was "unique among the Conquest period finds" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375, 376). The uncertainty of the scholars over the orientation and consequent usage of this artefact, coupled with its absence from Érdy's report, suggested the association of this artefact with the Vereb burial and a commensurate Magyar ethnicity for its owner should be treated with caution.

Small Pendant Strap Mounts (HNM Inv: 21/1853.10, 11)

Hampel reported and illustrated two small bronze mounts, each of three parts, with a 'ȣ' motif on its face (Hampel, 1905: 486, Pl. 346 Figs. 10 & 11). Mesterházy (1996a: 376) instead described them as cast silver and probably having adorned a pendant strap. However, Erdélyi disagreed, earlier claiming these very small artefacts were buttons (Erdélyi, 1978: 290 Fig.4) and unlike other finds elsewhere in the Carpathian Basin (Erdélyi, 1978: 287), intimating they too were stylistically Saltovo.

Buckles (HNM Inv: 21/1853.9)

Érdy listed three buckles (Érdy, 1858: 14—15) – two of iron and one of low-grade silver, each with four small headed-nails on its reverse (Érdy, 1858: Plate III.8). Only Erdélyi commented on an ethnic association, noting a bronze buckle (not silver or iron) was 50mm long with a shape

[116] 'Garniture' – defined as appurtenances, accessories; adornment, trimming, especially of dish; costume (Fowler & Fowler, 1964: 504 'gardener-garth').

and finish comparable to engravings on some shield-shaped belt mounts that Popov found at Bujlovka in 1900 (Erdélyi, 1978: 287).

Coins (HNM Inv: 21/1853.17)

A hoard of 12 silver coins were found scattered beside the human skeletal remains, each with two puncture holes and, according to Érdy, all from the reign of Berengar I (888—915) (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate: VI). However, later reporting showed significant disagreement over their quantity and mintage (see Table 5.1 below).

While Érdy had followed Jankowich's example and dated the Vereb burial by its coins to the Conquest Era and from that dating extrapolated a 'pagan' Magyar ethnicity for the deceased, Pulszky apparently chose not to take that extra step. Despite titling his article "A Magyar Pogány Sírleletek" [in English, The Magyar Pagan Grave Finds] (Pulszky, 1890), he omitted discussing the ethnicity of the deceased, instead accepting unreservedly Érdy's Magyar association.

Table 5.1 – Coins in Vereb Assemblage as noted by Scholars after Érdy

Scholars after Érdy:	**Pulszky (1890: 12)**	**Nagy (1892: 299—315)**	**Hampel (1905: 488, Pl. 348 Figs.1—7)**	**Erdélyi (1978: 287)**	**Mesterházy (1996a: 375)**
No. of Coins:	Unstated	12	Noted 7 only	Noted 12, reported 9	12
Minted For:					
King/Emperor Berengar I (888—915)	Yes*	Yes*	5	3	Yes*
Emperor Berengar II (915—966)			1		
Emperor Charles the Bald (840—877)		Yes*		2	Yes*
Emperor Louis II (855—875)		Yes*			
Emperor Charles the Simpleton (884—923)		Yes*			
Emperor Charles the Fat (884—888)					Yes*
Hugo of Provence, King of Italy (926—945)			1		
Pope Sergius III (905—911)	Yes*	Yes*			Yes*
Pope Benedict IV (Unk—903)				1	
Pope Nicholas I (858—867)		Yes*			Yes*
Pope Nicholas I (858—867) & Emperor Louis II (855—875)				1	
Pope John IX (Unk—900) & King/ Emperor Berengar I (888—915)				2	
Pope John X (914—928)					Yes*

*Individual quantities per ruler or pope unspecified by scholar / Unk = unknown year

Nagy emulated Pulszky by not expressly discussing ethnicity but did title his article "A Magyar Pogánykor" [in English, The Magyar Pagan Era] and made various references in the text to the ancient Magyars (Nagy, 1892: 299—315). He further claimed that together with coins in at least 20 other finds (including Piliny, Neszmély, Csorna, Gödöllö, Szeged-Öthalom, Szeged-Királyhalom and Galgocz), the Vereb coins confirmed the timespan of the Conquest Era (Nagy, 1892: 299). In this way, Nagy inferred that this burial was from the Conquest Era and was a Magyar burial, while overlooking that other ethnic groups also resided and presumably died in the Basin during that period.

Erdélyi (1978: 287, 290) listed the original hoard as 12 coins and noted their mintage. He then claimed that Hampel and Réthy found only six coins in the collection in 1905 and that Réthy had incorrectly added a coin minted for Hugo of Provence to the assemblage (Hampel 1905: III. 348). Mesterházy later noted 12 silver coins had been found in the region of the chest and claimed that these "had enabled…the ethnic attribution of the burial" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375), presumably as Magyar, given his text on the Vereb assemblage was published in Fodor's 1996 *Ancient Hungarians* catalogue.

General Observation on the Vereb Assemblage

As with the Benepuszta hoard, the coins provided the *dating markers* used to associate the Vereb grave with a Conquest-era Magyar warrior. If Mesterházy's identification of the coins with particular kings and pontiffs was accurate, then the timespan of their mintage extended from the reign of Pope Nicholas I (858—867CE) to that of Pope John X (914—928CE) – that is, from perhaps four decades before the Magyars purportedly first arrived in the Basin and into the reign of Prince Zoltán (907—947CE). Thus, at a minimum, the skeletal remains could be assumed to have been buried no sooner than 914CE. However, the assumption of Magyar ethnicity made by Érdy (1858: 15) and repeated by later scholars was not necessarily supported by the Vereb coins, as the mix of coins could have been acquired by many means, including by trade, raid or inheritance. Furthermore, the coins could have been in the possession of an individual of any ethnicity in the region at that time and have been passed around several times. Rather, the assumption of Magyar ethnicity for the Vereb grave suggested the ethnic identification was influenced by Jankowich's 'Magyar' claim for the Benepuszta find, with Érdy's personal desire to support the concurrent nationalistic push within Hungary towards more 'Magyar-ness', a further possible contributor, as evidenced by his earlier name-change (see Chapter 3).

Galgocz (HNM Inventory No. 42/1871)

In summer 1868, a grave with human and horse remains was found by workmen trench-digging on the estate of Count Ferenc Erdődy in the Vág valley, near a town known as Galgocz (now Hlohovec, Slovakia).[117] Hungarian archaeologist Ferencz Kubinyi (1796—1874) recovered the gravegoods, which were donated to the National Museum by Count Erdődy. Kubinyi did not report on the find. That task was left to Roman Catholic prelate and archaeologist Ferencz Flóris Rómer, who published an initial brief report in 1869, noting Kubinyi promised a full report later (Rómer, 1869a). However, with that full report not appearing, Rómer published a more detailed report in 1870 (Rómer, 1870: 217—226).

The initial brief report made the Galgocz find the third site reported as ancient Magyar (Rómer, 1869, 1870, 1871) and its identification as an ancient Magyar grave further confirmed in the minds of contemporary scholars the cultural markers for the ancient Magyars first reported by Jankowich for Benepuszta and reiterated, with some variation, by Érdy in his Vereb report.

Biological Anthropology Aspects of the Galgocz Find

No early report discussed the bio-anthropological aspects of the Galgocz find. The initial note by Rómer only mentioned the skeletons of a man and his horse (Rómer, 1869: 105), with Rómer relying on the promised but never delivered later report by Kubinyi for further information. His second report did not mention the deceased at all. While Hungarian anthropologist and archaeologist Joseph Maria Ritter von Karabaček (1870: 117—119), and archaeologists Pulszky (1890), Nagy (1892) or Hampel (1900), made almost no mention of the deceased, confining their descriptions to the artefacts.

Sixty-eight years after the initial report, Fettich, citing Rómer (1869: 105), noted an equine cranium and long leg bones had been found (Fettich, 1937: 76), but did not comment on the human remains. A further 59 years on, Fodor echoed Rómer that a man and horse had been found (Rómer, 1869: 105), adding only that the deceased had been a "high-ranking man, who had settled in the north-eastern stretch of the Hungarian settlement territory [and] was laid to rest in the late 920s or early 930s" (Fodor, 1996a: 388).

[117] The name 'Galgocz' was standardised in spelling to 'Galgóc' as part of the Language Standardisation process of the late Nineteenth Century. However, the earlier name is used throughout this text.

The Artefact Assemblage of Galgocz

Rómer first reported the assemblage comprised a sabretache coverplate, some jewellery and a coin (Rómer, 1869: 105). His second note (Rómer, 1871: 165-166) provided only a little further information. In 1890 Pulszky reported further artefacts as belonging to the Galgocz assemblage, but these were excluded by later scholars, beginning with Hampel.

Sabretache Coverplate (HNM Inv. # 42/1871.3)

Rómer described a thin sabretache coverplate as silver-wire and shield-shaped, with locking hooks, and similar to the coverplates used by Russian Hussars (Rómer, 1869: 105). The leather pouch had been strengthened by rivets and small hooks, while the extruded leaf shape of the coverplate was very 'fancy' and measured 127x102mm (Rómer, 1869: 105). Rómer later reported gilding on the coverplate, which he and Jósa earlier had been reluctant to identify until a gilded artefact reported from Szolyva by Tivadar Lehoczky (see Szolyva later in this chapter) gave him the confidence to claim the Galgocz coverplate also as gilded (Rómer, 1871: 165—166). Pulszky depicted the coverplate as large, shield-shaped silver-plate, characteristically convex and decorated with a trefoil motif with gilded fields and a complex foliate design which, like Rómer, he compared to the Szolyva coverplate (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Nagy then suggested the silver-plate was a helmet rim piece, not a sabretache coverplate, while also claiming the Szolyva find as evidence for his view (Nagy, 1893: 316). Noting the Galgocz plate was not curved to fit a person's head, he further claimed it may have only decorated the helmet (Nagy, 1893a: 316). Agreeing with Rómer on the shield shape, Hampel compared the decoration with the obverse of a Hussar coverplate (Hampel, 1900: 533). Describing at length its ornamentation, particularly the foliate motif, Hampel surmised by analogy with the Szolyva find that the Galgocz plate had decorated a cap or hat front (Hampel, 1900: 533—535). Hampel believed the deceased had been a warrior or soldier, despite the absence of weaponry (Hampel, 1900: 533). Claiming the palmette motif had 'unmistakable similarities' with ancient Greek and early Sassanid designs, Hampel asserted by contrast that woven tendrils often tended to be above the 'Tree of Life' in ancient Assyrian motifs (Hampel, 1900: 535). Later, Fettich only described the manufacturing process and design for the coverplate motif but made no ethnic association for the find (Fettich, 1937: 77).

In 1996, Fodor commented on the 'uniqueness' of the artefact and praised Rómer for having "correctly guessed" its function as a sabretache coverplate (Rómer, (1869: 105; Fodor, 1996a: 388), despite Rómer himself having initially admitted uncertainty over its function (Rómer, 1871: 165—166). Fodor also noted that the matter of function had been resolved only when other

coverplates with leather pouch fragments still attached were later found at Bezdéd and Bodrogvécs (Fodor, 1996a: 388). Describing the palmette motif on the obverse as the work of a "highly skilled craftsman [and] the finest example of the so-called palmette ornamental style of the Conquest period" (Fodor, 1996a: 389), Fodor also noted that the pattern was common in the period and had appeared on Sogdian wall frescoes in Central Asia (Fodor, 1996a: 389). From this latter point, he concluded the design had been "incorporated into the artistic vocabulary of the ancient Hungarians in their eastern homeland" (Fodor, 1996a: 389). Although Fodor was perpetuating by this the view that the palmette was indicative of the ancient Magyars and of their having originated in the East, the many depictions of palmettes across his own 1996 catalogue differed greatly in shape and style, and indicated possibly multiple manufacturing origins and ethnicities (see: Fodor *et al*, 1996b: 32, 33, 69, 78, 81, 84, 86, 100, 108, 118, 125, 126, 140, 158, 167, 174, 179, 180, 187, 203, 243, 278, 283, 304, 338, 346, 352, 385).

Earlier in that same text, Fodor described the Magyars' shamanistic beliefs as based on "folk tales [and] a wide array of superstitions and archaic prayers" (Fodor, 1996f: 31). He compared the work in this arena of unspecified early ethnographers and later archaeologists and concluded the ancient Magyars could not be "identified with the primitive shamans described by the ethnographers" (Fodor, 1996f: 31). Rather, he insisted, their shamanistic beliefs and religious leadership structure had been shown archaeologically to be more complex, reflecting "an intricate web woven from myriad strands of beliefs and superstitions" (Fodor, 1996f: 31). Thus, on the one hand, Fodor was claiming the palmette motif clearly identified the ancient Magyars through their beliefs, while conversely, he insisted their religion was complex and multi-tiered and presumably therefore difficult to decipher from their iconography.

Coin (HNM Inv. # 42/1871.4)

Rómer initially reported a silver coin measuring one 'finger' across and bearing Sanskrit writing, which he recognised from "Vámbéry's writings on Tartar figures" (Rómer, 1869: 105). He then sought the assistance of Karabaček to identify the coin and elaborate on its inscription. Karabaček determined the coin was minted c.918—919CE (or year 306 in the Arabic calendar), during the reign of Transcaucasian Samanid ruler, Emir Nasr ben Ahmed (913/4—942/3) (Karabaček, 1870: 117). He reported three inscriptions on the obverse that comprised a prayer to Allah and a further inscription on the reverse that identified and lauded Nasr ben Ahmed (Karabaček, 1870: 117). Declaring his belief that this was the first Samanid coin found in Hungary, Karabaček also noted that, in the Tenth Century, Samanid money was a world trading

currency, with large quantities transported across Northern Europe and Russia to Western Europe, making it only natural for some to be found in Hungary (Karabaček, 1870: 117—118).

Pulszky repeated the association of the coin with Nasr ben Ahmed and the reference to Samanid coins as a Tenth-century 'world' currency (Karabaček, 1870: 118, Pulszky, 1890: 13). He claimed, however, that the coin indicated the deceased had died in 942 (Arabic year 331) (Pulszky, 1890: 13), that is, at the end of ben-Ahmed's reign. Noting the punctured hole, Pulszky deduced the coin had served as decoration, not currency (Pulszky, 1890: 13). Nagy only noted its minting in Samarkand for ben-Ahmed and dated to c.918/919 (Nagy, 1892: 299—300). Hampel (1900: 531), however, reiterated the description by Karabaček (1870: 117—119), while omitting the conclusions by Pulszky about a decorative use for the coin and the death year of the deceased (Pulszky, 1890: 13). Hampel confined his comments to the relatively good condition of the coin despite a minting fault and a partial breakage (Hampel, 1900: 531, 1905: 337, Fig.1). Fettich repeated the description by Hampel, including the minting fault and breakage, but omitted the prayer inscription dedicated to the Islamic deity (Fettich, 1937: 77). Whether this latter omission was intentional or an oversight by Fettich is unknown. However, his meticulous approach to other aspects of his text and his criticisms of inaccuracies by Hampel and Pulszky suggest he had made a conscious decision to exclude the prayer.

Almost six decades later, the prayer inscription was quoted again, with Fodor providing an English translation (Fodor, 1996a: 390). Whether this reintroduction was coincidental or intentional remains uncertain. However, little was published about the Galgocz assemblage in the intervening years and what publication occurred was focussed on other artefacts in the assemblage, especially the sabretache coverplate and its palmette motif (e.g. Dienes, 1972: 66). While the coin's absence from the examined assemblage precluded further commentary about its physical composition or inscription, I was able to observe from the early reports that the conjecture over its usage as an ornament or currency might be too restrictive an explanation. For instance, Pulszky had not discussed the possibility of the coin having a spiritual purpose in the grave, such as payment or bribe for passage to the afterlife. Dömötör referred to an old custom in Hungary of leaving undone the clothing fastenings and buttons of the deceased and placing coins on his or her eyes before burial (Dömötör, 1977: 70).

General Observation on the Galgocz Assemblage

While several discrepancies existed between the reports, ethnic association of the find was limited to the sabretache coverplate motif and dating variation only to the coin. Both artefacts suggested an Eastern manufacture. However, the scholars disagreed on where in the East, with

Russian Hussar coverplates, Sogdian wall frescoes, Greek and Sassanid motifs and inscriptions praying to Allah on a Samanid coin, all featuring in the texts and presenting a wide range of possibilities.

Anarcs (HNM Inv. #99/1870.2—4b & JAM Inv. # 64.891.1)

Two finds have been attributed to the Anarcs region and appeared together in some reports. For clarity and consistency, I have separated the two finds by their initial reporting dates and referred to them as Anarcs 1 (found in 1870) and Anarcs 2 (in 1899). Only Anarcs 1 is housed in the Hungarian National Museum and was examined for this study. The Anarcs 2 assemblage, which forms part of the collection at the Jósa András Museum in Nyíregyháza, was not examined, however its description is included below to complete the picture of the development of the overall association of the Anarcs artefacts with the ancient Magyars.

Anarcs 1 (HNM Inventory #99/1870.2—4b)

While most early finds were made accidentally during construction projects or were deliberately excavated when information about potential sites became known, occasionally an assemblage surfaced that had already been in private hands for some time and, consequently, its original provenance was speculative at best. Anarcs 1 was such a site. Rómer and his friend András Jósa visited the home of Albert Czóbel, a politician and prominent member of a wealthy landowning family near the town of Anarcs, to view his artefact collection, but Czóbel was away (Rómer, 1870: 225). So, the other residents showed them some of the collection (Rómer, 1870: 225). Rómer published the assemblage they viewed in April 1870, soon after his initial Galgocz report (Rómer, 1869: 105). Czóbel later presented some artefacts to the National Museum as one assemblage, although this collection differed in several respects to the one reported by Rómer (1870). In his report, Rómer had not indicated whether all the artefacts he saw had come from the same site, the identity of their recoverer, or the date of recovery. His only comment was a vague mention of 'ladies walking in sand after storms' (Rómer, 1870: 225). Subsequent publication of reporting by Jósa (in Csallány, 1958: 151—153) added no clarity to the matter. Nevertheless, Fodor (1996b: 127) later stated the site as a sandhill near Anarcs.

Biological Anthropology Aspects of Anarcs 1 Find

No skeletal remains were among the viewed assemblage, so Rómer (1870) did not report on the biological anthropology of the grave.

The Artefact Assemblage of Anarcs 1

Artefacts attributed in various reports to the Anarcs 1 assemblage have included arrowheads, coins, belt buckles or buckleplates, ornamental mounts, stirrups, an adze, and an ornamented triple-edged bronze arrow, with scholars disagreeing on the actual contents (as discussed below). Rómer (1870: 225) compared the find with the Galgocz assemblage and concluded an ancient Magyar ethnic association also for this deceased.

Bronze Arrow

Using analogy with the earlier find at Vereb (Érdy, 1858), Rómer identified and associated a bronze arrow with the Tenth Century (Rómer, 1870: 225). Hampel claimed only one three-edged arrowhead in the assemblage, which he saw as stylistically similar to some found in Scythian graves and at Monaj and Szirmabesenye in Hungary (Hampel, 1900: 587), but in later reporting, revised his description to an unspecified number of three-edged small arrowheads (Hampel, 1905: 509). Later reports by other scholars omitted mention of any weaponry.

Coins

Rómer reported three coins or medallions bearing Latin text (Rómer, 1870: 225). One had the inscription: “M ANTON AVG TRIB XVII (?))(IMP VI COS III RELIG AVG” (Rómer, 1870: 225). A second was inscribed with: “COMMODUST PM TR P XI IMP VII COS V PP. FOR …” (Rómer, 1870: 225). The third stated: “L vERVS AVG ARMEN. -)(TRP III IMP II COS I .. ARMEN” (Rómer, 1870: 225). While I am not a numismatist, the inscriptions on these coins appeared to be Roman and possibly dated to the period up to 192CE and the reign of Emperor Commodus (r. 180—192CE). Their presence in the assemblage suggested they had been in the mound when excavated and may have resulted from the mound having been earlier disturbed.

5-Pointed Star and Crescent Pendant (HNM Inv. # 99/1870.2)

This artefact was not reported by Rómer, with Hampel (1900: 586—587) the first to record it, describing it as a piece of bronze jewellery displaying a crescent and five-pointed star (Hampel, 1900: 586—587; 1905: 509). Hungarian archaeologist Istvan Dienes later argued for inclusion of the pendant in the Anarcs 1 assemblage and that the design suggested an eastern Slavic manufacture (Dienes, 1961: 166—171), with Fodor (1996b: 127) later supporting that conclusion. By contrast, Hungarian archaeologist Eszter Istvánovits refuted the Slavic ethnic association, claiming more recent studies have ascribed a Byzantine origin to the pendant (Istvánovits, 2003: 16). From my own observation of the artefact, the overall design suggested

eastern (possibly Turkish) influences, with its presence in the assemblage possibly due to trade or pillage. This artefact, therefore, did not lend itself to supporting any particular ethnicity for the deceased, although it did suggest contact with the East.

Anarcs 2 (JAM Inv. # 64.891.1)

In 1899, three graves were found during grapevine cultivation near Anarcs 1, this time on land owned by Imre Czóbel, Albert's younger brother. In the first reports of the find, Hampel noted that Jósa had made the discovery for the Szabolcs County Museum (Hampel, 1902: 297—298, 1904: 105—112). Jósa himself only made his first published reference to this find in 1914 when, within a broader report on Szabolcs County finds, he briefly described the site's location as a cemetery near a small pine forest, with some gold and other artefacts from it having found their way into the National Museum (Jósa, 1914: 178).

Biological Anthropology Aspects of Anarcs 2 Find

No skeletal remains were recovered from these graves to illuminate the nature of the deceased.

The Artefact Assemblage of Anarcs 2

In 1996, citing a 1958 compilation of Jósa's articles, Fodor noted they suggested the Anarcs 2 assemblage had comprised: "a pair of silver gilt braid ornaments engraved with the design of the Tree of Life...two discs [and] a pair of small stirrups, subsequently lost [and] a coin...allegedly") (Fodor, 1996b: 128). Only a braid ornament and an ornamented disc attracted scholarly comment suggesting ethnic association.

Braid Ornament

The braid ornament was passed to the Nyiregyháza museum, where it remains still. Fodor noted that: "According to Andrew Jósa's notes, the disc was found resting on the chest of the skeleton, suggesting…the deceased was a young girl, for…custom among the nomadic peoples was that girls braided their hair into one braid, while married women braided their hair into two braids" (Fodor, 1996b: 128). He further commented that the 'custom' of tying hair into one or two braids "was most likely also widespread among the ancient Hungarians of the Conquest period [and] survived into the 20th century among the Hungarians in Slavonia" (Fodor, 1996b: 128).

Ornamented Disc

Hampel restricted his first report to the ornamented disc, which he noted was made of thin silver-plate, measured 6.8cm in diameter, and showed signs on its reverse of once having been rivetted to another disc (Hampel, 1902: 297). Hampel's description focussed on the palmette motif on the obverse, describing it as resembling the motifs on the sabretache coverplates found earlier at Galgocz and another site, Tarczal (Hampel, 1902: 297—298), which had been attributed to the Conquest Era. He noted the upper palmette more closely resembled the Galgocz motif and that its blooms generally appeared to be opening. (Hampel, 1902: 297—298). With his second report, Hampel compared the disc again to the Galgocz and Tarczal coverplates, and to another from Beregszász (today Beregovo, Ukraine) (Hampel, 1904: 108). He accounted for differences between the four motifs by concluding there had been two phases of palmette style, although he offered no explanation for that view (Hampel, 1904: 108). Hampel then more closely compared the Anarcs 2 motif with a six-leafed palmette on an artefact found at Bezdéd, despite the difference in foliage, and considered the similarity with the Bezdéd artefact as greater than with the trefoil motifs from Szolyva and Bodrogvécs (Hampel, 1904: 108).

Comment on Anarcs 2

Based on the number of braid ornaments found, Fodor took the view that the deceased was a young 'ancient Hungarian' girl of the Conquest Era who was attired in nomadic style. However, the placement of the presumed hair-braiding ornament on the chest of the deceased, rather than by the head or upper arm (that is, closer to the hair), suggested some caution should have been applied when making any judgment about this grave and its possible ethnic association.

Szolyva (HNM Inventory No. 148/1870)

In mid-1870, amateur archaeologist Tivadar Lehoczky excavated two trenches in a mound on an 'ancestral road' connecting the Verecke Pass to the towns of Munkács (now Mukačevo), Beregszász (now Beregovo) and Ungvár (now Užgorod) on the northern edge of the Great Hungarian Plain (Lehoczky, 1870: 201—206). Approximately 200m west of the town of Szolyva,[118] the mound was on the right side of the highway where the valley cutting rises on the left bank of the Latorcza River (Lehoczky, 1870: 201; Fodor, 1996c: 175). Lehoczky recorded the mound as "18^{o} hosszú és 12^{o} széles" (Lehoczky, 1870: 201), which Fodor later interpreted as

[118] The town was then part of the county of Bereghvár in the Magyar Kingdom. However, after the border changes imposed by the implementation of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, it became part of the Ukraine and the town's name changed from Szolyva to Svaljava. The assemblage though has retained the Szolyva name (Fodor, 1996c: 175-178).

34m long and 23m wide (Fodor, 1996c: 175). Hampel (1905: 588) noted its pre-excavation height at 21.8m. Lehoczky described the locality as a junction for the surrounding valleys where, even after the Magyars moved through its passes into the Carpathian Basin, two further historically important events related to them had occurred - the arrival of the Cumanians in 1086[119] and the Turkish invasion and occupation of the Magyar Kingdom in 1241 (Lehoczky, 1870: 201—202). From an archaeological perspective, the position of the site on the road from the Verecke Pass makes it also possibly one of the earliest sites for the ancient Magyars within the Basin. In his report, Lehoczky mentioned his interest in the mound had been piqued by an earlier unreported excavation that had unearthed an iron sword (Lehoczky, 1870: 202). He noted a cross was atop the mound when he first saw it (Lehoczky, 1870: 202; Fodor, 1996c: 175), but gave no information on its age or significance.

Szolyva Trench 1

In trench 1, Lehoczky unearthed a grave and reported it as holding an ancient Magyar warrior of the Conquest Era (Lehoczky, 1870: 201).

Biological Anthropology Aspects of Szolyva Trench 1 Find

Lehoczky reported the deceased as an adult male oriented West accompanied by equine bones (Lehoczky, 1870: 202—206), with a 'standing' height of 165cm (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1877: 276, Hampel, 1900: 704), but later revising it to 174cm (Lehoczky, 1881: 113; Hampel, 1905: 589). Finding two small molars, possibly human, in the soil, Lehoczky surmised the deceased had been a youth (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1877: 276). The bones of his hands were resting together on his abdomen and several phalanges were dried to 'membrane' thinness (Lehoczky, 1870: 205). The skeleton had disintegrated in the dampness leaving only an impression in the 'iron-rust-browned' earth beside the weapons (Lehoczky, 1870: 203), from which Lehoczky deduced the body had lain on a wooden plank (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1881: 113; Hampel, 1905: 589).

The deceased had been accompanied by equine bones. An equine mandible with shattered teeth, lay upturned to the west of the disintegrated human cranium (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1881: 113; Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589). Lehoczky collected the remaining teeth and, from their size, shape and condition, determined the horse was also young when buried (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1877: 276). He noted its skull and other bones were so crumbled and dissolved in the wet clay

[119] The Cumanians had been invited to settle in the Kingdom by the then Magyar king, Bela IV (reigned 1235-1270), with a view to resisting the advancing Turkish army (Lehoczky, 1870: 201-202).

that their identification and removal were impossible (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 1881: 113; Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589).

In 1892, Nagy compared the anthropology of the Szolyva find with graves found in subsequent years, including at Demkóhegy (Fejér county), where he had found burials with horse remains (graves 6, 17) or symbolic artefact placements (graves, 19, 33, 43), noting that, in each case, the equine skull lay beside the cranium (Nagy, 1892: 299—315; Hampel, 1905: 579—585). Nagy also claimed the Szolyva grave resembled an earlier find at Piliny made by Baron Jenő Nyáry (Nyáry, 1873: 16—24; Lehoczky, 1877: 276; Nagy, 1892: 302). He later compared the arrangements in graves attributed to the Conquest Era and noted that, at an Orosháza[120] burial the deceased had lain supine with hands clasped on his stomach, paralleling the Szolyva find (Nagy, 1893b: 223—234). At Nemes-Ócsa, the single burial also lay supine (Nagy, 1893b: 223—234); while at Gerendás, excavated in 1881 by Hungarian archaeologist Adorján Végh, several bodies lay sideways (Végh, 1881: 127-133; Nagy, 1893b: 223—234). Hampel later noted the decayed equine bones lay beside a stirrup and agreed with Lehoczky regarding the young age of the horse (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589).

Correcting 'errors' he identified in Lehoczky's report, Fettich noted the head of the deceased was oriented West with his legs to the East (Fettich, 1937: 78), and that his skeleton had been completely crushed, leaving only the soil impression (Lehoczky, 1870: 204; Fettich, 1937: 78). From this, he concluded that an entry in the Museum's inventory of a mandible with five teeth may have been wrongly attributed to this find (Fettich, 1937: 78). However, he appears to have overlooked that Lehoczky reported finding two small human molars and an equine mandible with teeth, enabling him to age the two sets of remains (Lehoczky, 1870: 203). Fodor later detailed elements of Szolyva's archaeology, but for the anthropological aspects only repeated Lehoczky's second claim of a 174cm tall youth with near disintegrated bones, buried with his young horse, while adding that they were buried according to Hunnish custom (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

The Artefact Assemblage of Szolyva Trench 1

Lehoczky reported several weapons, silver-plating, jewellery, clothing ornaments, equestrian equipment, and a few fragments of uncertain purpose (Lehoczky, 1870: 202—206). He also

[120] This site of three graves was not published by its original finder, however, Nagy was aware of it in 1892. Details of the contents of the graves were first published many years later by Dienes (1961: 142-151) and repeated later still by Mesterházy (1996b: 345-346). Kovács also wrote briefly about a perforated gold solidus coin found in Grave 3, inscribed with images of Basileos II (958-1025) and Constantine VIII (976-1025) (Kovács, 1989: 50).

wrote five later articles, pressing the case for his initial claims against what he saw as contradictory claims or misinterpretations by other scholars (Lehoczky, 1877: 274—276; 1881: 98—99, 111—115, 472; 1886: 379—380; 1892: 128—131; 1912: 84).

Charcoal and Pottery

Lehoczky reported charcoal and burnt pottery fragments in the soil above the 'Magyar' grave in Trench 1 and concluded the mound had been exploited earlier by treasure hunters (Lehoczky, 1870: 201). Noting Lehoczky had asserted those fragments were above the grave and he had to dig deeper to reach the burial, Fettich later concluded that this grave had been dug into a prehistoric settlement mound (Fettich, 1937: 77—78; Fodor, 1996c: 175).

Sword or Sabre and Scabbard

Initially, Lehoczky noted a 900mm long, light Magyar 'sword' of 45mm width at the grip and 38mm width below that, in the remains of a scabbard and positioned left of the cranium (Lehoczky, 1870: 204). Describing its slight central curve, Lehoczky did not identify it as a sabre, but his insistence on the curvature of the blade suggested he saw it as such (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 274, 1881: 113, 1886: 380). Refuting a claim by Hungarian historian Ferencz Salamon that Magyar swords historically had a particular shape and length (Salamon, 1877: 774), Lehoczky (1877: 274—276) maintained that no positive data existed to support Salamon's argument. He further stressed that the Szolyva weapon, which Salamon had claimed as straight-bladed (Salamon, 1877: 774), had been so damaged in transit to the Museum that initially he did not recognise it in the display cabinet (Lehoczky 1877: 274, 1886: 280). Noting he had sketched, measured and diarised details of the weapon when he found it, Lehoczky reiterated the weapon had been slightly curved downwards from its middle section, had measured 900mm in its pre-damaged state, and had been 45mm wide near the grip (Lehoczky 1877: 274). Pulszky later only noted a heavily rusted and fragmented 'sword' for Trench 1 (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Nagy commented that the weapon's fragmentation meant its slightly curved, single-edged blade was known only from Lehoczky's notes (Nagy, 1892: 299—315). Hampel referred to the iron 'sword' as described by Lehoczky (1870: 204) (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589, 591); while Fodor described the weapon as a 950mm long sabre, with an 180mm long grip curving "slightly towards the cutting edge, with the knob-terminalled cross-bar at its base" (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Dagger or Small Sword and Scabbard

Lehoczky also reported remnants of an elongated single-edged knife or dagger near the individual's right hip (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1881: 114, 1886: 380). Describing it only

as a curved and narrow, single-edged blade, Pulszky (1890: 14) claimed this smaller blade was analogous to a find at Nemes-Ócsa in 1881 by Végh (1881: 132). Hampel later briefly noted this single-edged weapon and its sheath adorned with thin, brown, glassy beads, (Hampel, 1905: 400). However, stressing Lehoczky (1870: 201—206, 1877: 274—276) had made no mention of a second sword, Fettich (1937: 77, 78; Fodor, 1996c 177) maintained that Hampel had confused the Museum's inventory numbers, and the second weapon (HNM Inv. 275/1871.30) correctly belonged to an Avar collection found at Tóti-Puszta by Rómer (1872: 18). Six decades later, noting Lehoczky's (1870: 204) claim of finding the weapon and its beaded scabbard, and the claim by Fettich (1937: 78) about Hampel confusing an 'Avar sword' from Tóti-Puszta with the Szolyva assemblage (Hampel, 1900: 590, 1905: 400), Fodor claimed Fettich had also erred in failing to recognise Lehoczky's drawing of "the sword from Szolyva" (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Sabretache Coverplate (Inv. 148/1870.5)

The remnants of a green-rusted, woven piece of silver-plate, Lehoczky (1877: 275) claimed had been rivetted to a fur headcover, like those worn by roadworkers in his day, and suggested to him that the warrior had worn it above his forehead (Lehoczky, 1886: 380). Lehoczky described gold-leafed 'arabesques' decorating the fragment and, at its lower section, an impressed coronate motif (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). Hungarian archaeologist Ödön Boncz disputed the assertion of a rim for a felt headcover, claiming the fragments were part of a quiver, a Slovak *puzdra* or a Magyar *tegez*[121] (Boncz, 1886: 201). Refuting Boncz's assertions, Lehoczky insisted that Boncz had not read his Szolyva report, nor earlier reports on the Galgocz find (Lehoczky, 1886: 380), and emphasised the two plates were adjacent to each other in the Museum's display cabinet, where their differences were readily observable (Lehoczky, 1886: 379—380). Lehoczky repeated his claim of having personally removed the pieces from the grave and having found felt shreds with them that substantiated his claim for a cap (Lehoczky, 1886: 380).

Pulszky noted that, unlike the Galgocz coverplate, the Szolyva motif had been etched into the metal and from a distance suggested a flying bee, while no impression of armour, a shield or helmet had been found in the gravepit soil (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Hampel simply paraphrased Lehoczky on the plate decorating a cap rim, without further comment (Hampel, 1900: 704). Fettich, however, noted similarities between the palmette motif on the Szolyva, Galgocz and Bodrogvécs coverplates with artefacts found in the Volga-Kama and Don-Dnieper river regions (Fettich, 1935: 14—15). He further noted that some metalwork at that time had been crafted with designs suggesting raw materials, such as textiles, wood and bone carvings, and viewed the

[121] *Puzdra* is the Slovak word for quiver, while *tegez* is the Magyar equivalent.

Szolyva coverplate as a prime example of that style (Fettich, 1935: 15). Two years later, Fettich described the plate as 106mm at its widest part and 125mm long from its straight upper end to its curved lower end (Fettich, 1937: 78). He also highlighted differences in the technical execution of the Szolyva, Galgocz and Bodrogvécs plates, in particular that the Szolyva design was flat, unlike the embossed designs on the other two (Fettich, 1937: 78).

Dienes later described the Szolyva plate as a richly gilded, silver sabretache coverplate measuring 125x113mm, with cast metal tassels mounted at its upper edge, and a motif of "infinitely extendable bunches of palmettes" (Dienes, 1972: 87, Note 4). His measurement was only slightly larger than Fettich (1937: 78) had noted, but smaller than Lehoczky had stated (Lehoczky, 1877: 275). Fodor depicted the plate as a silver gilt and slightly bent sabretache coverplate with a "fluted ribbon border [and the] heads of the five silver rivets modelled on palmettes" (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Agreeing with Dienes, he compared the Szolyva plate to the larger but narrower Galgocz coverplate (Fodor, 1996a: 389), and described the Szolyva motif as an arrangement of trefoil palmettes into three vertical rows forming a reticulated pattern of repetitive, interlinked palmettes (Fodor, 1996c: 177).

In the spaces between the palmettes' horizontal and upright leaves, Fodor noted dense hatching, with punched dots at the inward twirling tips of the palmettes and vein-lines, and the 'veins' of the horizontal leaves frequently ending with three dots (Fodor, 1996c: 177). He compared this triple-dotted design to the work of an unspecified Sogdian workshop in Central Asia he suggested as a possible source for Conquest-era art (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Noting the 'tassel' style fringe on the Szolyva plate that Fettich (1937: 78) and Dienes (1972: 87) had previously described, Fodor depicted it as a "row of imitation hanging tassels at the top, with four cast silver mounts of three tassels and one-half of a tassel mount...riveted to the ribbon border" (Fodor, 1996c: 177). This decoration suggested to him that the pouch had been made of felt, not leather, and that Lehoczky's assertion of a finial for a felt cap may have derived from the same assumption (Fodor, 1996c: 177).

Despite their similarities in size and design, Fodor highlighted a difference in the quality of workmanship between the Szolyva and Galgocz coverplates, noting that most Conquest-era purses were not ornamented with 'expensive' metal mounts or plates (Fodor, 1996c: 177). He attributed the elaborate fringing on the Szolyva coverplate to an ancient artisan's desire to replicate the "appliqué ornament of leather purses [and thereby preserve] the spirit and artistry of Conquest period leatherwork" (Fodor, 1996c: 177).

Then, while not specifically referring to any assemblage, Fodor claimed that: "Most scholars of western Siberian archaeology agree that the Sargatka culture,[122] dated to between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, can be plausibly identified with the proto-Hungarians" (Fodor, 1996e: 13).

Buckles

Initially reporting a 76x39mm iron buckle across the individual's chest, Lehoczky later amended the measurement to a slightly larger 80x41.3mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275). From its position in the ground, he deduced the artefact most probably had been part of a belt suspended from a Slovak puzdra, as belt and wooden fragments were still visible (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 114). Hampel reported an iron buckle bearing wood and leather fragments on the deceased's chest (Hampel, 1905: 590); while Fettich omitted, perhaps unintentionally, mention of a buckle (Fettich, 1937: 77.78). Fodor (1996c: 176—177) only paraphrased Lehoczky (1870: 204-205).

Iron Fragments

Lehoczky reported two iron fragments, one 'horseshoe-shaped' (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), the other with a prominent spike-like shape he deduced first as a 'spur' and then as a 'bayonet-shape' (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114). Hampel only noted these fragments (Hampel, 1905: 590); while Fettich (1937: 77—78) omitted them. Accepting Lehoczky's description of a 60mm wide "horseshoe-shaped iron" (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), Fodor suggested it had been either a suspension loop for the quiver or part of a wooden saddle and noted it had been deposited "in the eastern half of the coffin, above the feet of the deceased" (Fodor, 1996c: 175, 176). Fodor (1996c: 176) also noted Lehoczky's 'spike-shaped', later 'bayonet-shaped', fragment (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), but disagreed with the interpretation of it as a 'spur', declaring "the Hungarians of the Conquest period, riding their horses in nomadic fashion, did not use [spurs]" (Fodor, 1996c: 176) and that no spurs had been found in Conquest-era graves (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Instead, Fodor suggested the artefact resembled a straight iron rod quiver mount and, like the arrowheads, these fragments may have been iron stiffening mounts from an absent quiver (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

[122] The Sargatka culture is a name used by some scholars to describe an undefined variety of people who lived in the Steppes region during the period when the Magyar people were still supposedly resident there. Scholars such as Fodor viewed the Sargatka culture as including the proto-Magyar people, before the commencement of their migration westwards to the Carpathian Basin. A number of texts have been written on the subject, with one article published online, that provides a brief but informative summary of the literature, mostly by Russian and Hungarian writers on the subject (Erdélyi & Benkő, 2015: 17-31).

Wooden Planks

At a depth of 1.5m, where the soil was much darker, Lehoczky reported an impression of brown lines in the damp clay, indicating a decayed plank had disintegrated to 'ashes' (Lehoczky, 1870: 201, 1881: 112), suggesting by this that it had been burnt. However, he did not speculate on the composition or thickness of the original timber. Hampel later reported the depth as higher in the ground – first at 0.9m (Hampel, 1900: 704) below the surface, and later at 1.13m (Hampel, 1905: 588). He noted the impression was in a 102mm thick layer of blackened soil (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 588). From the size and shape of the soil impression Lehoczky had suggested the deceased may have lain on a plank measuring 1800x450mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 203—204; Nagy, 1893b: 226). Hampel, however, claimed the plank was larger, at 2000x500mm (Hampel, 1905: 589); while Fodor recorded its size as 1900x480mm (Fodor, 1996c: 175). At first glance, these differences may seem minimal. However, their significance is that by making the plank larger Hampel was allowing for it to accommodate a more impressively-built male of around 1800mm in height and reasonably broad-shouldered. On the other hand, Fodor appears to have been uncertain as to which earlier scholar to support and therefore adopted a middle point.

Initially, Lehoczky also reported a second plank made of oak, bearing minute traces of rust (Lehoczky, 1870: 205), suggestive that it had been in contact with iron rivets or nails. However, Lehoczky did not record the size and shape of this second plank or comment on why it, unlike the first plank, apparently had not been burnt. Had these planks been associated, perhaps as parts of a large box or coffin, it would seem probable that both would have received the same treatment. Nagy, however, disputed the 'coffin-burial' proposition (Nagy, 1893b: 226). Comparing the placement of the first plank with those found at other gravesites, he noted that only Szolyva and Nagy-Teremia had been associated with 'coffin-like' remains (Nagy, 1893b: 226). While noting the Nagy-Teremia plank had been pierced by silver headed-nails, adding weight to a possible casket there (Nagy,1893b: 226), Nagy affirmed that Lehoczky (1870: 201, 203—205; 1881: 112) had not claimed a coffin-burial in his Szolyva reports (Nagy,1893b: 226). He further noted that Baron Nyáry had considered the artefact at Piliny to have been the remains of a shield (Nyáry, 1873: 17; Nagy, 1893b: 226). Whereas, at an Eleventh Century gravesite at Alpár a decayed wooden board had been found with textile remains still attached that did suggest a casket with a material lining (Nagy, 1893b: 226).

Hampel, like Lehoczky, only stated that the Szolyva skeleton lay on a plank (Hampel, 1905: 589); while Fodor disagreed, declaring the presence of the two planks supported a 'coffin' premise (Fodor, 1996c: 175). Such a burial form, however, does not fit with the accepted view of an

ancient Magyar burial of the Conquest Era as initiated by Jankowich's Benepuszta report or supported by the later, initial reports on Vereb, Galgocz and Bezdéd.

Sandstone Slab

Lehoczky initially noted the cranium lay *on* a 300mm long sandstone block (Lehoczky, 1870: 204), but later amended its size to 320mm and the head placement to *beneath* the stone (Lehoczky, 1881: 114). Later still, he reverted to his original contention of the cranium having lain pillow-like *on* a flat stone slab (Lehoczky, 1892: 129). Hampel, conversely, noted the block of common sandstone as lying 333mm *above* the cranium (Hampel, 1905: 591), suggesting he accepted Lehoczky's 1881 text, but either overlooked or disregarded the initial report of 1870 and Lehoczky's 1892 reversion to it. Fettich simply agreed with Hampel (Fettich, 1937: 78). Nagy also saw the sandstone block as *above* the head but commented that its placement was analogous to a Cumanian practice of placing a sandstone pillar above a grave (Nagy, 1893b: 225), inferring thus that the Szolyva grave may have held a Cumanian deceased, not a Magyar one. Fodor took Lehoczky's initial 1870 report as the more reliable (Fodor, 1996c: 176), while omitting mention of the opposing views of Hampel (1905: 591) and Fettich (1937: 78) of the slab having been above the cranium.

The vacillation by Lehoczky over the placement of this slab and the seeming need for later scholars to takes sides in the issue, suggested an underlying and perhaps reluctant indecision by the scholars to identify the burial as a Magyar grave of the Conquest Era. As at Grave 8I at Bezdéd (see later in this chapter) saddles or their impressions, rather than bulky stone slabs, appeared occasionally under the heads of the deceased (Jósa, 1896b: 385-412; Fodor, 1996d: 181).

Szolyva Trench 2

When it proved unworkable to excavate fully around the skeleton in Trench 1, Lehoczky dug a further trench at the southern end of the mound (Trench 2) (Lehoczky, 1870: 206), which produced no skeletal remains and only two artefacts - a mug or pot and a 'ridged and bound' bauble in two halves. Neither attracted comments on ethnicity and have not been discussed further here.

General Observation on the Szolyva Assemblage

The descriptions by Lehoczky of some artefacts at Szolyva have been disputed by later scholars, as shown, with doubts persisting about the purpose or age of some. My own examination also raised doubts about the nature of some of these artefacts and others, adding further to uncertainties over the composition of the Szolyva assemblage and its Magyar ethnic association.

Bezdéd Cemetery (HNM Inventory No. 86/1896)

In the early years of Hungarian archaeological practice, most finds were single graves or very small groups. Large cemeteries, containing several hundred graves, were yet to be unearthed.[123] Among the early small 'cemetery' sites there is a group that, at the time of its excavation, was considered large by comparison with other finds, comprising 18 known graves. As its fame grew, the proximity of the site to the town of Tiszabezdéd gained it the abbreviated name of Bezdéd.[124]

The Bezdéd find resulted from a public statement by László Vidovich, Chief Constable of Szabolcs County, to report to him any archaeological finds made in the district (Jósa, 1896b: 385). Béla Rácz, a local Town Clerk's employee, then advised Vidovich that sometime between 1878 and 1888 a human grave with horse remains had been found near Tiszabezdéd (Jósa, 1896b: 385). According to Rácz, the find included a sword, a mace and other artefacts, all having since disappeared (Jósa, 1896b: 385). Together with Endre Tompos, a pharmacist, Vidovich began excavating in the area in April 1896 and found two human burials with horse remains (Jósa, 1896a: 3—4). The men took the finds to András Jósa, then Director of the Nyíregyházi Museum, who dated the graves to the Conquest Era (Jósa, 1896a: 3—4).

Over the next two months Vidovich led an expanded team excavating 15 more graves, with Jósa involved in the opening of three (graves 14,15 and 17) and issuing a brief newspaper story on the site in June 1896 (Jósa, 1896a: 3—4, 1896b: 386)). The contents of the 17 graves unearthed that year were transported to Budapest, where Hampel agreed with Jósa's Conquest-era date.

His dating estimate confirmed, Jósa published a detailed report (Jósa, 1896b), using "Vidovich's notes" (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 408). A few years ago, pencil drawings of these 17 burials were discovered in the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest.[125] Before their discovery, it was generally believed that no illustration had been made of the Bezdéd finds (Révész, 2011: personal communication).

In 2004, László Révész (Director of Archaeology at the Hungarian National Museum) and another Hungarian archaeologist Péter Prohászka published the Bezdéd pencil drawings (Révész & Prohászka, 2004). Dr. Révész provided me with photocopies of their computer scans of the drawings, and those copies have been utilised in this study. However, due to the unavoidably

[123] Larger cemeteries of several hundred graves have been uncovered since then at several locations, including Ibrány-Esbóhalom, Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy, Sárrétudvari-Hízóföld and Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb (Fodor *et al*, 1996a: 451, 454-455, 456, 457).
[124] Although in some texts it is referred to as Tiszabezdéd (e.g. in Fodor et al, 1996), so both names appear here.
[125] The pages were stamped with National Museum Manuscript section File no '1929.36', Folios '394—409' and '411'.

poor quality of these reproductions of what were already faint and fading pencil drawings, only one has been reproduced further in this text (see Fig.5.2 below), although the complete set as scanned by Révész and Prohászka, as well as their reading of the notes on each page, were included in their 2004 article.

Each drawing showed a fully or partially articulated skeleton, surrounded by gravegoods and handwritten notations, in some cases indicating the location and depth of the gravepit, but mostly the placement of the gravegoods. No drawing was created of Grave 11, although notes were made. All drawings and notes were unsigned, so their creator was unclear. However, when examined, variations in the handwriting, quality of the sketching and details presented, suggested more than one author and illustrator.

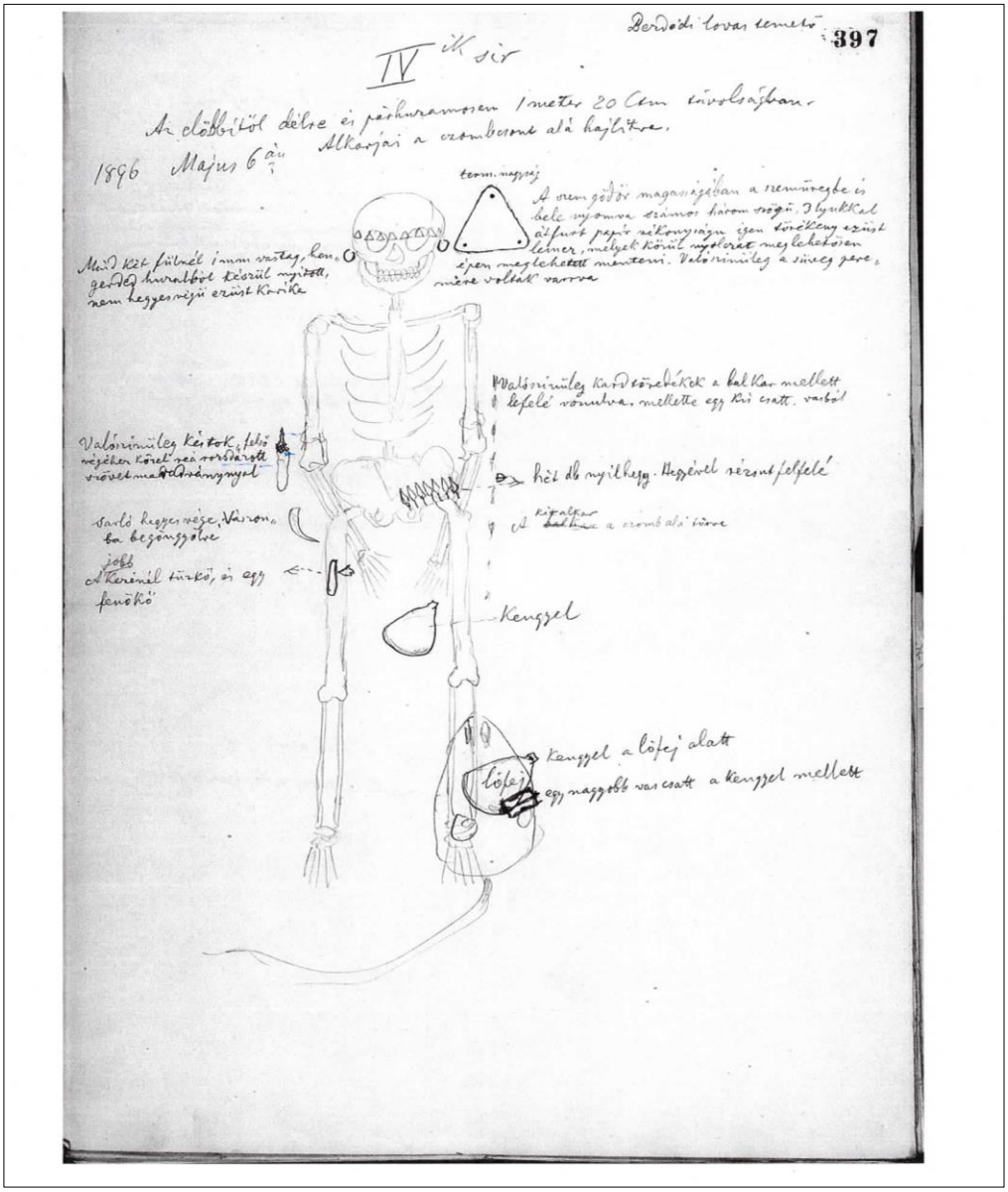

Fig.5.2 Original Drawing and Notes for Bezdéd Grave 4D excavated on 6th May 1896.

A clue to the possible identity for the illustrator and author of some drawings appeared on Folio 395 for Grave 2B, where Vidovich was referred to in the third person. As only Vidovich and Tompos had excavated that grave, this mention of Vidovich suggested that Tompos had prepared the notes. The handwriting on most of the pages resembled this one. However, on some pages (e.g. Folio 405 for grave 12b, Folio 409 for grave 16f) some writing appeared different in size and slant, suggesting multiple individuals had prepared those notes, with Jósa having noted his input to the excavation of Grave 14 on Folio 407. Therefore, it can be assumed that Jósa's reference to "Vidovich's notes" (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 408) only meant that, as Team Leader, Vidovich had passed him the notes to prepare the report. Jósa's comments also on his difficulty reading some handwriting (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 408) appeared reasonable given the frequently very small and sometimes illegible text.

Since Jósa's initial reports, the Bezdéd cemetery has attracted greater attention than many other finds from the same period, with several scholars having written further interpretations of its various aspects, including: Hampel (1905: 513—523), Fettich (1937), László (1944: 95, 98—102), Dienes (1972: 62) and Fodor (1996d: 180—185). The site's popularity for scholars over the 120 years since its excavation has meant that it has served not only as the starting point for studies of Conquest-era cemeteries in Hungary, but has provided some authors, as will be shown, with added fuel for promoting their own views, even where the material culture could have been interpreted in multiple ways.

A final point to note before proceeding to discussion of the site and its reporting, is that, in order to reconcile the original reports by Jósa with a later reinterpretation of the cemetery by archaeologist, Gyula László (1944: 95, 98—99), later scholars have used a combination of Jósa's numerical and László's alphabetical identifiers, when writing about the graves (e.g. H1, b12). That practice has been continued here, although placing Jósa's numbers first (i.e. 1H, 12b etc), out of respect for his position as the first publisher of the finds.[126]

Site and Layout of the Bezdéd Cemetery

Situated beside the road to the town of Záhony, in an area called 'Harangláb duló' or 'Rácztag' in the same county as the Anarcs finds, the Bezdéd cemetery site lay roughly in line with a stone marker 1km from the town of Tiszabezdéd. Jósa's map (Fig. 5.3) illustrated the layout of the 18

[126] Jósa's numbers were in excavation order, while László's alphabetical sequencing was gender based (males: A-K, females: a-f) and indicated distance from the central male figure, which he numbered out of sequence as 'I'.

graves found in total, although he numbered, in excavation order, only the 17 uncovered in 1896 (Jósa, 1896b: 385—412).

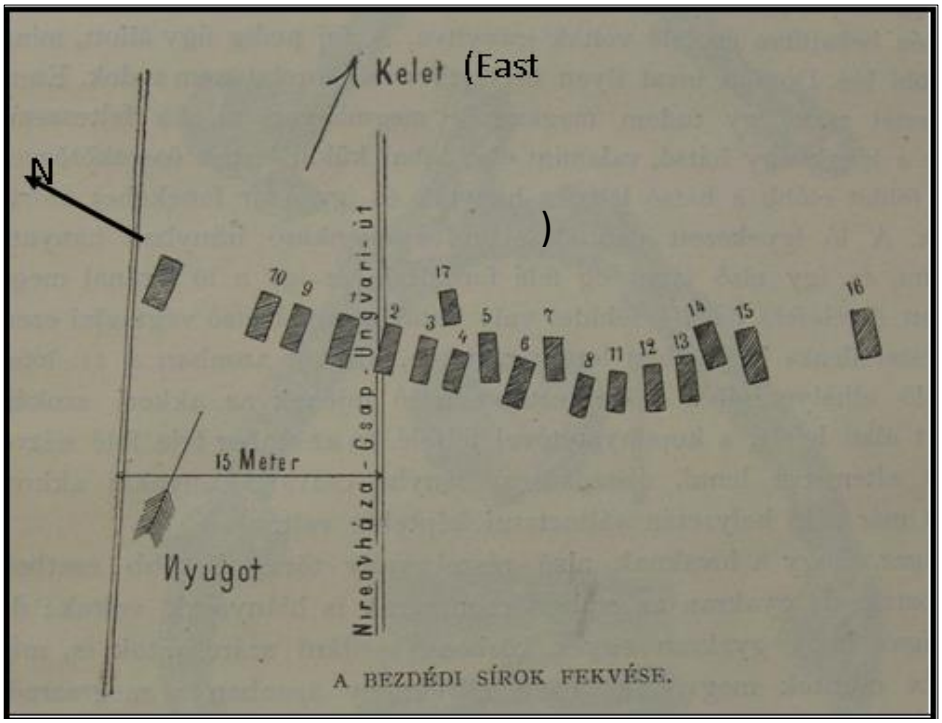

Fig.5.3 – Jósa's map of the position and layout of the Bezdéd Cemetery, showing all 18 graves, including the first one discovered in 1878/88 (Extracted from Josa, 1896b: 387)

The line of graves measured roughly 45m from end to end, with four graves north of the Nyíregyháza-Csap-Ungvári Road, including the earlier discovered one, and the other 14 either on or south of the same road. Most of the graves lay in a curved line along a North-South axis, with one (grave 17E) outside the line, east of Graves 3F and 4D.

Contents of the Bezdéd Graves Excavated in 1896

Only the 17 graves excavated in 1896 have been included here, as the contents of the earlier grave are known only from hearsay. The following brief descriptions have been derived from the pencil drawings and their accompanying notes (Folios 394—409, 411).

Grave 1H (Folio 394)

Excavated on 20th April 1896, grave 1H was found 150mm deep on the northern side of the Nyíregyháza-Csap-Ungvári Road and contained the remains of an adult male lying supine in an E—W direction. An equine skull was at his lower right leg, a stirrup under his cranium, a bridle bit above his face, and a silver ornament above his left foot.

Grave 2G (Folio 395)

Grave 2G, excavated on 21st April 1896, was 1m south of and parallel to grave 1H, lying across the Nyíregyháza-Csap-Ungvári Road. The supine adult male was oriented E—W, accompanied by an equine skull, bridle and three buckles at his lower left leg. A long iron spike and stirrup were at his pelvic region and a silver circlet lay beside his left ear. Two rows, of seven beads each, ran down either side of his ribcage.

Grave 3F (Folio 396)

The third grave (3F), excavated on 5th May 1896, was 1—1.5m south of and parallel to grave 2G, and oriented E—W. It held a supine adult male, with an equine skull on his lower left leg and equine leg bones at the west end of the gravepit. A clay pot lay 120mm away from his left ear. Six arrowheads were on the lower part of the left pelvic bone. A bridle bit and stirrup lay between the necks of his two femurs. Several mounts, a holed bone fragment and an iron fragment were outside the right hand, and a row of beads ran across and above the mid-femur region of both legs. Above the equine skull were another bridle bit and stirrup. A row of 70 fragments, possibly from a bow, ran down between his shoulder and mid-right femur. Toward the end of the gravepit were a belt-strap-end ornament and four small mounts of various types.

Grave 4D (Folio 397)

This grave, discovered on 6th May 1896, was 1.2m south of and almost parallel to grave 3F. Both forearms of the supine male skeleton were bent inward beneath the heads of his femurs. An equine skull lay along his lower left leg and a long neck bone of a horse lay extended from it across the western end of the gravepit. Seven small, silver triangular plates lay across his eyes and nasal bridge. A silver circlet was beside each ear. Seven arrow tips formed a row on his left pelvic bone. A knife was outside his right elbow, a sickle in line with the right forearm and a strike-a-light and flint were on his right upper femur. One stirrup was between the two femurs, while another, together with a buckle and ornament, were above the equine skull. A row of eight fragments, possibly from a sword, lay in a row extending alongside his left arm.

Grave 5C (Folio 398)

Also found on 6th May 1896, grave 5C was oriented NE—SW and lay slightly forward of grave 4D. The grave contained a smaller, supine male skeleton, with an equine skull at his lower left leg and a long neck bone extending from it at the western end of the gravepit. A silver earring was

beside each ear. Two small stirrups and the fragments of a bridle bit and buckle were noted, although their placements were not illustrated.

Grave 6B (Folio 399)

Excavated also on 6th May 1896, grave 6B was 1.5m south of grave 5C, but oriented E—W. The deceased was a heavily-decayed adult male, lying supine. An equine skull and long neck bone lay along his left leg with the nose pointing toward his head. A flintstone was near his right hand, with a rusted arrowhead beside his left hand. Noted only were stirrups, a bridle and a buckle.

Grave 7A (Folio 400)

Grave 7A was excavated on 16th May 1896, 1—1.5m from grave 6B, and further forward, oriented NE—SW, more in line with grave 5C. The remains were a supine adult male, with an equine skull, long neck bone and two fore-leg bones bent backwards, spread along and extending westward from his lower left leg. Above the skull were two stirrups and a girth buckle. A long and rounded bone artefact, several iron fragments and a small flint were by his right hand. A small buckle lay near the left elbow. A four-edged spear was between his femurs with its tip pointed toward his pubis.

Grave 8I (Folio 401)

Excavated also on 16th May 1896, grave 8I was in line with the main row, oriented E—W. The supine adult male was accompanied by an equine skull, long neck bones and leg bones that stretched from his lower left leg down and across the western end of the gravepit. A striking stone was by his right hand and a ring was on one right phalange. On his right side, and on and beneath the right arm, were a sabretache coverplate, a sword or sabre, several small silver-plates and spike-like artefacts, a buckle and some ornaments. One stirrup was above his cranium and another slightly further east with a bridle bit and buckle. Eight arrowheads were bundled near a femur, and an iron bit piece was 140mm away from the upper part of a Slovak puzdra, although their positions were not illustrated.

Grave 9J (Folio 402)

Opened on either 16th or 21st May 1896,[127] this grave was north of the Nyíregyháza-Csap-Ungvári Road about 2.5m north of grave 1H and parallel to it, oriented E—W (Jósa, 1896b: 387). The grave contained a partially-articulated adult male skeleton, with his face turned to the left and

[127] Jósa's report did not give a date of excavation, but the order of excavation indicates either the 16th or 21st of May 1896.

his mandible fallen to the right. An equine skull, long neck bones and leg bones were at the eastern end of the gravepit, with the skull lying alongside his lower left leg. Associated gravegoods included an earring near his left ear, a horse's bit, a pair of stirrups, a flattened fragment of silver wire, some narrow strips of silver-sheet, a single gold-coloured hoop, two pendant ornaments, several very thin crumbled plates of silver, a 'steel' weapon described as a bow or accessory to one, and some iron fragments.

Grave 10K (Folio 403)

On 21st May 1896, this grave of a supine adult male, was found at a depth of 200—300mm, 2.5m from grave 9J, although Jósa's map (Fig.5.3) suggested a distance of only 1m to its north. A sword with a bent hilt lay along the torso with the handle at his right hand and the blade stretched in a slight angle upwards to past his right shoulder. From the left shoulder down to his left hip lay a row of 10 ornaments, with three more in a row extending down outside his lower left forearm. Four arrowheads were near his right hand and a row of thin, rusted iron fragments ran down the right side from his mid-ribcage to his right knee. An earring was at each ear. An 85x36mm whetstone was noted but not illustrated. No equine bones or equestrian equipment were found.

Grave 11a (Folio 404)

Excavated on 21st May 1896, the page for this grave contained only notes. Jósa's map indicated a placement about 1.5m south of grave 8I and slightly forward, oriented ENE—WSW. Found 1.2m down, the grave held only a heavily decayed cranium and left arm bone, together with some rusted iron fragments, a small circlet, some more circlets near where the ears would be expected and a small sharp implement. The notes did not attribute a sex to the deceased. However, the grave was assessed later as an adult female, presumably based on its position beside female grave 12b and right of male grave 8I, considered in the reports to be the focal male burial (Jósa, 1896b: 387, 403).

Grave 12b (Folio 405)

Also found on 21st May 1896, about 1.5m south of grave 8I and slightly above it in the row, oriented NE—SW, this grave contained a supine adult female. Copious notes surrounded the depiction of a partial skeleton, with both legs largely absent. No equine bones were indicated, but a large array of artefacts, mostly beads and other jewellery were specified, including a pair of earrings (one beside each ear). Noteworthy were: one four-noduled ring, recorded as similar to the ring in grave 8I, and found on a right phalange; and a row of various sized and coloured beads that extended from the left shoulder to the left hip.

Grave 13c (Folio 406)

On 23rd May 1896, this grave was discovered 1m south of and parallel to grave 12b, and similarly oriented NE—SW. It contained the partial remains of a supine adult female, also missing much of her lower limbs. No equine bones were found, but a quantity of variegated beads were in a row along each upper arm. A larger bead was on her neck and an earring lay beside each ear.

Grave 14d (Folio 407)

Discovered on 29th May 1896, this grave of a teen-aged female was south of grave 13c, halfway forward in the row, oriented more decidedly NNE—SSW. The drawing was very faint, and no feet were illustrated, while the notes indicate the skeleton was heavily decayed. The grave contained no equine bones or equestrian equipment, but many small baubles and beads, a low-grade silver ring with a floral incised face, and some arm bangles, were illustrated. Although described in detail, the handwriting was often illegible.

Grave 15e (Folio 408)

Excavated also on 29th May 1896, this grave was recorded as oriented E—W, although Jósa's map showed it oriented NNE—SSW. As with graves 13c and 14d, the skeleton appeared to lack limbs below the upper femurs. A disarticulated left hand was on the left shoulder, with the fingers pointing westward. Unlike the other female graves, this grave contained an equine skull, a bridle bit, some harnessing rings and two stirrups, sitting above the left knee. A quantity of beads was spread over the upper torso and across the mandibular region, and a twisted silver wire bracelet lay above the equine skull. A large buckle was above the right knee.

Grave 16f (Folio 409)

This grave was 5m south of grave 15e and oriented NNE—SSW. With no excavation date recorded, the order of excavation indicated the period between 29th May 1896 and 9th June 1896.[128] The grave contained a partially-articulated adult female skeleton, with her right arm bent outward at the elbow joint. Her right forearm lay diagonally across the abdomen with the right hand resting on the pubis. The left arm was bent in at the elbow and the left forearm was raised so that the right hand was at shoulder height in a 'waving' posture. Her lower right leg appeared to be missing, while the depiction of the lower left leg was too faint to comment. Several spike-like fragments were in a row between her left shoulder and mandible. A sizeable

[128] No date of excavation is recorded on the page, although the order of excavation indicates the work was undertaken on or after 29th May 1896.

quantity of beads was spread in rows over the upper torso. A small elongated silver-plate rested on the left temple. No rib bones were illustrated. The pencil notes on this page appeared to have been written by multiple hands, with additional writing in ink at the top of the page.

Grave 17E (Folio 411)

Grave 17E, containing a supine adult male, was fully forward of the main row, to the east of and between graves 3F and 4D.[129] Oriented NE—SW, it was illustrated as much smaller than the other gravepits. No equine bones were noted, although a stirrup and bridle bit were indicated near the right foot at the end of the grave, and a large buckle was between the lower legs. Another stirrup was beyond the left foot. While the drawing was very faint, the skeleton appeared to have been fully articulated.

Biological Anthropology Aspects of the Bezdéd Cemetery Finds

Apart from the pencil drawings and notes, only Jósa (1896b) and László (1944: 95, 98—99) contributed views on the biological anthropology of the Bezdéd burials.[130]

Human Skeletal Remains

Jósa recorded 11 males and six females among the 17 graves excavated in 1896, all lying supine (Jósa, 1896b: 387—408). Their bones were mostly decayed and often difficult to remove from the gravepits and sometimes only impressions could be found in the earth (Jósa, 1896b: 387). Most often Jósa only mentioned parts of the skeletal remains when describing artefacts, such as a row of beads stretched down the arm in grave 13c (Jósa, 1896b: 405). Occasionally he provided more information than the drawing notes, indicating he had discussed the notes with Vidovich or other team members, such as in grave 7A, where Jósa (1896b: 396) noted the right temple of the deceased was either smashed inward or the ground had depressed it, while the drawing notes (Folio 400) only stated that the cranium was shattered. Jósa also recorded several crania turned left (graves 2G,7A,8I,9J) or right (grave 10K) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 396, 397, 400, 402), whereas the drawings for graves 2G, 7A, 8I and 10K (Folios 395,400,401,403) illustrated all crania facing forward. This suggested a template drawing of a skeleton had been used and only adjusted where required for significant leg (grave 17E, Folio 411) or arm variations (graves 4D,15e,16f, Folios 397,408,411 respectively).

[129] No date of excavation is recorded on the page for grave 17E. However, the order of excavation indicates the work was carried out after grave 16f and therefore conducted on or after 29th May 1896.

[130] Appendix 6 provides a combined summary of the information gleaned from the pencil drawings (Folios 394—401, 403—409, 411) regarding the human and equine remains and the comments reported about them by Jósa (Jósa, 1896b).

Jósa divided the graves into male and female, sometimes based solely on the grave's position in the row, as with grave 11a (Jósa, 1896b: 397). According to László, three males (graves 5C,6B,17E) were youths (László, 1944: 98), although neither the drawings (Folios 398,399,411) nor Jósa (1896b: 395, 396, 408—409) had made such claims, only referring to grave 5C (Folio 398) as much smaller than the others (Jósa, 1896b: 395). All graves assumed to hold females (11a,12b,13c,14d,15e,16f) were classed by László as adults (László, 1944: 99), although their remains were often heavily decayed, making definitive assessments difficult. However, both the drawing notes (Folio 407) and Jósa (1896b: 405) claimed the female in grave 14d was young, based on the distance from the teeth to the *acetabulum coxae*. The only other instance of age-referencing by Jósa was for grave 7A, where he suggested the deceased was elderly, as only two teeth were found in the mandible (Jósa, 1896b: 396).

László also suggested that the left or right turning of some heads may have been caused by the neck tendons decaying over time and the skull then rolling to one side under its own weight (László, 1996: 76). While that explanation may or may not apply in some cases, the lack of accurate depictions of the head positions in the drawings limits their usefulness in making judgments in that regard.

Equine Bones

Both Jósa and the drawings were more informative regarding the horse bones in each grave (see Appendix 6). Generally agreeing with the drawings, Jósa reported equine bones in eight male graves (1H,2G,3F,4D,5C,6B,7A,8I) and one female grave (15e) (Jósa, 1896b: 387, 390—401, 408), with all bones defleshed and wrapped in the flayed skins of the horses.[131] In most instances, the equine bones were above the human remains in the gravepit, with their heights above the skeletons varying from 200mm to 500mm (Jósa, 1896b: 387, 390—401, 408). Frequently these bones were above or close to the human legs (e.g. Graves 1H,3F,7A,8I,15e,17E) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 393, 396, 400, 408, 409).

Notable among the burials with horses was grave 1H, where the equine skull was above the deceased's right lower limb, while the animal's trunk was beneath his foot (Folio 394; Jósa, 1896b: 390). Also, the four hooves sat together (Folio 394; Jósa, 1896b: 390), whereas in the other graves they were usually dispersed, lying at the ends of the legs of the beast (Jósa, 1896b: 393, 396, 400, 408, 409). In grave 4D, Jósa claimed the equine trunk was doubled over and in

[131] Révész (1996e: 38, 39) described the general burial 'custom' for horses in more detail and notes that such a practice "can only be observed among the more affluent and wealthy families [or] when one of the leaders of the community was buried" (Révész, 1996e: 39).

front of the feet of the deceased (Jósa, 1896b: 395) but the drawing (Folio 397) only illustrated the long neck bone lying across the bottom of the grave. Jósa also noted the equine trunk in grave 8I was bent in front of the human legs, with the fore-legs folded under the knees and back towards North, and the hind legs extended out southward (Jósa, 1896b: 400), a position vaguely discernible from the illustration (Folio 401), and from which Jósa deduced the animal had been buried alive (Jósa, 1896b: 400). He further claimed this positioning of the bones demonstrated that all the horses had been buried alive and had been arranged to prevent their remains from touching or pressing on the human skeleton (Jósa, 1896b: 388). László, however, claimed the entire horse was never buried, that only the skull and leg bones were deposited in the grave (László, 1944: 95). In either case, some variation was evident in the handling of the horses.

The Artefact Assemblage of the Bezdéd Graves Excavated in 1896

Dating evidence for the Bezdéd cemetery came from a gilded silver-plate found in grave 8I that Jósa claimed "perfectly corresponds with" plates found at Galgocz, Szolyva and Tarczal (Jósa, 1896a: 3—4). The Conquest-era dating of those other plates was based on the earlier-noted Samarkand coin found at Galgocz and dated 918-919CE and claims made by Jankowich about the Benepuszta find.

In 1905, Hampel itemised the Bezdéd artefacts as he witnessed them in the Hungarian National Museum (Hampel, 1905: 513—523). Following the format of Jósa's reports, Hampel separated the artefacts from each grave into groups based on their material composition or perceived function. For example, iron arrowheads and bladed weapons he reported under the general heading of 'A. Iron utility objects', while he reported silver artefacts, including buckles and strap-ends as 'B. Jewellery' (Hampel, 1905: 513—523). Hampel also differed from Jósa in his descriptions of some grave contents, thereby casting doubt on the actual contents of the Bezdéd assemblage. Assuming both scholars had reported in good faith, the only reasonable explanation for the significant variations, was that the Bezdéd artefacts had been mixed with other grave assemblages at some point between their transportation to the National Museum in 1896 and their examination by Hampel in 1905. Hampel had alluded to that possibility when describing some beads labelled as part of grave 14d and an arrowhead fragment attributed to grave 15e (Hampel, 1905: 521). The level of variation, however, appeared during my examination to have been much greater than the two artefacts he highlighted.

Subsequent scholars have selectively discussed elements of the Bezdéd burials, with some artefacts viewed as 'treasures' having attracted more discussion than others. Among these were a sabretache coverplate recovered from grave 8I and the distribution of arrowheads between

the graves purporting to denote rank (e.g. Fettich, 1937; László, 1944: 95, 100—102; Dienes, 1972: 62; Fodor, 1996d: 181—184). The emphasis in those articles had been on either the 'uniqueness' of an artefact or, conversely, its 'similarity' to artefacts or designs in other locations, in order to support the theory or opinion of the writer. For example, Fettich (1937) discerned similarities between the gravegoods in Magyar burials in the Carpathian Basin and artefacts found around Kiev in the Ukraine. Whereas Fodor marvelled at the design of the grave 8I sabretache coverplate, describing it as "unique in the art of the Conquest period" (Fodor, 1996d: 182). The linear graves pattern and apparent separation of males and females within the cemetery's layout also prompted László to claim this segregation had demonstrated cultural practices of the ancient Magyars not in evidence in smaller excavations (László, 1944: 101).

As noted earlier, László claimed the Bezdéd cemetery layout demonstrated an order of grave placement based on sex and rank, not order of death (László, 1944: 100—102). He also associated several male graves with their 'counterpart' female graves, as he saw them (László, 1944: 100—101). For example, László married his male grave (D) (Jósa's number 4) with his female grave (b) (Jósa's 12), as both contained beads (László, 1944: 99—101); while he viewed an earring near the left ear of the male in his grave (J) (Jósa's 9), as complementing a right ear found in his female grave (d) (Jósa's 14) (László, 1944: 99—101). From this analysis, László postulated that the positioning of graves in Conquest-era Magyar cemeteries mirrored the distribution of living and work space between men and women in a 'typical' ancient Magyar tented-dwelling (László, 1944: 96—97 Fig.4, 101—102). That distribution of tent space, he concluded, in turn reflected rank and position within the extended family and community (László, 1944: 96—97 Fig.4, 101—102). However, later scholars discarded László's theory, as much larger cemeteries were progressively uncovered displaying more varied layouts than the relatively small Bezdéd cemetery.[132]

The artefacts recovered from the 1896 excavation were transported to the National Museum for cataloguing and storage (Jósa, 1896a & b; Hampel, 1905; Fettich, 1937; Fodor, 1996d: 180—184). The assemblage, as reported, included clothing remnants and accessories, weaponry, domestic utility goods, jewellery and equestrian equipment, and some formless artefacts as yet to be functionally identified. However, only 16 boxes of Bezdéd-labelled artefacts were stored

[132] See Ártánd-Nagyfarkasdomb, excavated intermittently from 1965 to 1967, revealing an estimated 200 burials (Mesterházy, 1990: 50-57; Fodor *et a*l, 1996a: 457 Plan 14, 1996b: 211-214). Tiszafüred-Nagykenderföldek was also excavated in 1973 and 1975 and 150 graves were opened (Szabó, 1976: 59; Fodor, 1977: 100, 1982: 311-314, 1990: 20-22, 40; 1996g: 290-292). Sárrétudvari-Hízóföld, excavated from 1983 to 1985, led to 269 graves being unearthed (Nepper, 1990: 19-29, 1991: 13-61, 1993: 79-107, 1994: 151-160; Fodor, 1996h: 257-277; Fodor *et al*, 1996a: 456 Plan 13).

in the Museum when this examination took place, with each box labelled with a grave number coinciding with one of the first 16 graves reported by Jósa in 1896. In addition, some bladed weapons and a sabretache coverplate were held in separate vaults elsewhere in the Museum. Enquiries with the Storage Master regarding the current location of the grave 17E gravegoods elicited the response that only 16 graves had ever existed. Consequently, only 16 graves were examined, and their contents compared with past reporting. For completeness, however, the reporting on grave 17E has been included and discussed as appropriate. Only those artefacts are discussed in this chapter where significant variations have occurred in their reporting over time that relate to the ethnic association of a grave.

Clothing & Accessories

The reports noted belt buckles, straps, decorative mounts and fabric remnants (Jósa, 1896b: 385—412; Hampel, 1905: 514—523; László, 1944: 95, 98—99; Fodor, 1996d: 181, 184—185). A significant quantity of jewellery and other ornaments, including beads, rings, a bracelet, various earrings, spangles, hanging decorations, and silver fragments, were also reported (Jósa, 1896b: 385—412; Hampel, 1905: 514—523; László, 1944: 95, 98—99; Fodor, 1996d: 181, 184—185). No particular ethnicity-related comments were made in relation to most of these artefacts. However, the designs of several items of jewellery did attract attention from the scholars (see below).

Rings

A green-rusted ring was reported from grave 14d, its face etched with eight 'garnish' lines, and the gaps between filled with impressed circular dots (Jósa, 1896b: 406, Fig.XIV. Sír, 2/3 n. Item '2'). Hampel described the motif as an engraved 'star flower' dotted between the points (Hampel, 1905: 521); while László noted the ring's composition and placement only (László, 1944: 99). The reporting by Jósa and Hampel reflected the design of the Grave 14d ring in the examined assemblage (see Plate 6.1). Its generally sound condition suggested to me that it had been either worn with great care or placed new in the grave. The 'star flower' motif had no equivalent among the other Bezdéd graves or the other five case study assemblages, so the origin and meaning of the design are unknown.

Jósa also described and illustrated a ring from grave 8I with a four-sided face and four nodules, one protruding at each side (Jósa, 1896b: 397 Fig.VIII Sír, a—c, 2/3 n. Item 'a', 398). His illustration showed the band as a dented rectangle (Jósa, 1896b: 397 Fig.VIII Sír, a—c, 2/3n. Item 'a'). Jósa made no comment on the irregularity of the shape, however, the variation may have

been due to the weight of the surrounding soil pressing on the band, suggesting the ring was made of a soft metal, such as Hampel's asserted low-grade silver (Hampel, 1905: 518). Jósa did note its 'compass-shaped' and semi-convex face, inset with roughly-surfaced dirty-brown glass (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Hampel, conversely, described the setting as a 'cross' with four hollow bosses and an ovular brown glass insert (Hampel, 1905: 518). Later scholars made no comment on its stylistic origin or meaning; and the ring was not among the examined assemblage.

A ring from Grave 12b, Jósa described as a similarly four-sided 'wart' style (Plate 6.2) but hollow, with its setting divided (Jósa, 1896b: 404). While the glass 'stone' had fallen out and shattered, and initially the fragments had appeared to him as blackish/brown in colour, Jósa noted that, in clear light, they had revealed themselves to be sapphire-coloured glass (Jósa, 1896b: 404). Hampel described the 'stone' as blue glass-paste and the band as low-grade silver (Hampel, 1905: 520). As with the grave 8I ring, later scholars did not discuss the design's origin or meaning. When examined, only the head was intact and a small remnant of the band either side.

The fourth ring, from grave 16f, was only noted as 'rounded head' (Hampel, 1905: 522), of low-grade silver (László, 1944: 99), and having been removed from the female's right hand (László, 1944: 99). However, Jósa originally had reported no ring for this grave, and none was indicated on the grave drawing (Folio 409), so this ring may not have been part of the original assemblage. Instead, it may have been another 'error' in Hampel's report, and László's comment about the right hand may have been speculation only, for the same reason. No ring was among this grave's goods when examined.

Earrings

Jósa reported 13 earrings as 'hooped' - eight in five male graves (2G, 4D, 5C, 9J, 10K) and five in four female graves (11a, 12b, 14d, 15e) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 394-395, 400, 402-405, 408). Most were in or near the ears. However, the single hoop in female grave 14d was a little to the right of her teeth; while, in female grave 15e, that single hoop was at the fully decayed head of her forearm (Jósa, 1896b: 405, 408); and the position of the grave 2G hoop was not recorded (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Most hoops were either silver (5C, 12b, 15e), silver wire (4D), sterling silver (14d), or low-grade silver (2G) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 394, 395, 404, 405, 408). A pair of hoops in male grave 10K were only 'silver-coloured'; while a single hoop in female grave 11a was "either copper or low-grade silver" (Jósa, 1896b: 402, 403). In general, Hampel agreed with Jósa, although he claimed the grave 2G hoop was bronze, not silver (Hampel, 1905: 515).

A single hoop from grave 9J produced the only significant differences between the scholars. Jósa stated it lay beside the deceased's left ear (Jósa, 1896b: 400), and was gold-coloured wire, open-ended, almost 1mm thick, weighing 3.5gm, and similarly cylindrically-shaped to the pair in grave 10K (Jósa, 1896b: 400). However, his illustration showed it as closed, not open-ended (Jósa, 1896b: 401 Fig. IX. Sír, B 2/3n. Item 1). Hampel instead noted it as a closed-hoop, smooth gold ring, not gold-coloured, and found inside the left ear (Hampel, 1905: 519). My examination disagreed with Jósa's (1896b: 400) claim of an earring and the artefact appeared too large for a normal finger-sized ring as suggested by Hampel (1905: 519). Slight indentations around the rim rather suggested it may have been sewn onto clothing or worn on a chain (see Plate 6.3).

Jósa further commented that the wearing of earrings in the early post-Conquest Era would have been "just the same as today. Among Europe's States, Italian and German men also wear earrings" (Jósa, 1896b: 410). The suggestion here was that the wearing of earrings, in Jósa's opinion, was a long-term practice among certain male populations in Europe, notably of Roman and Goth ancestry, but not of Slav, Frank or another smaller group. At the same time, Jósa omitted mention of Roma men, who also may wear earrings, although he referred several times to 'Roma snaffles' among the equestrian equipment (see the next section), indicating his awareness of that ethnic group and its accoutrements.

Equestrian Equipment

Jósa reported horse bits and Roma snaffles, strapping buckles, and stirrups, in various positions around the gravepits (Jósa, 1896b: 390—391, 393, 395, 397, 401, 408—409). More recently, Fodor (1996d: 181) claimed the grave 8I adult male had been buried with his saddle beneath his head. However, Jósa (1896b) had not reported a saddle from that grave, and no mention was made of a saddle in the drawing notes (Folio 401).

Ethnicity-associative comments were made only about the bits and snaffles. Five artefacts were described by Jósa as bits (male graves 1H,2G,3F,8I,9J), while three artefacts in male graves (5C,6B,17E) and one in a female grave (15e) he identified as 'Roma snaffles'[133] (Jósa, 1896b: 390—391, 393, 395, 397, 401, 408—409). There appeared to be general agreement among the scholars regarding the composition and usage of these artefacts, except in two instances, where there was significant disagreement. Jósa noted that the bits in graves 8I and 9J had straight rod ends (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 397, 401). Hampel instead claimed the grave 9J bit had square ringed

[133] In Jósa's text he used the term "czigányzabola" (translated here to 'Roma snaffle') to describe the bit pieces in graves 5C, 6B, 15e and 17E (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 408, 409). A clear explanation for this distinction was unable to be found during the preparation of this text, but the distinction has been retained for the analysis, due to its possible 'ethnic' implications.

ends (Hampel, 1905: 519). Jósa also reported the grave 9J bit as resembling the bit shank found in the grave at Tarczal, on which slivers of silver were visible (Jósa, 1895: 75—76, 1896b: 401).[134] From this, he implied that silver ornamentation may have formed part of more elaborate harnessing sets than the more commonly-found and less decorated ring-ended sets, such as in the other Bezdéd graves. My own observations concurred with Hampel (see Plate 6.4).

The drawing for Grave 8I (Folio 401) showed the bit originally drawn with ringed ends, but then overdrawn with straight lines to depict straight rods and a note added that they were straight, not round. As this note and some other text on the page had been written in ink, not pencil, it was unclear whether these notes were made on-site or were later amendments. As some characteristics of the handwriting on these inked notes also appeared slightly different to the pencilled notes, this suggested a different author. Moreover, the bit I observed in the grave 8I assemblage had ringed ends (Plate 6.5). This raised the question of whether this bit was the original one found in the grave and the overdrawing was incorrect, or if this ringed bit had been confused with the straight-rodded bit really belonging to grave 8I, as per the overdrawing and Jósa's report (Jósa, 1896b: 390).

Sabretache Coverplate

Jósa reported a 'coverplate' from male grave 8I as triple-layered and gilded, very thin and sabretache-shaped (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Hampel later noted its composition as low-grade silver and used to cover a leather pouch; while László (1944: 95) and, later, Fodor (1996d: 181, 182), both viewed its composition as gilded copper. Noting its position on the deceased's left forearm and directed towards a sword on his sternum, Jósa comprehensively described and illustrated this 130mm long and 150mm wide plate (Figs. VIII. Sír. Cca 2/3 n. Jósa, 1896b: 398, 399), noting also some strengthening of the top plate by attaching a plain, low-grade silver, rectangular plate beneath it (Jósa, 1896b: 399).

Noting descriptions also by Hampel (1905: 518) and Fodor (1996: 181-184), Table 5.2 below shows that the three scholars (Jósa, Hampel and Fodor) disagreed on both the composition of the plate and its motif. Of particular note were their differing views regarding a central cross in the motif. All agreed it was a Christian depiction, but, whereas Hampel saw it as Latin (i.e. Roman Catholic), Fodor and László viewed it as Byzantine Orthodox. Their descriptions of the animals in the motif also differed significantly. All agreed that two animals were represented, but their interpretations varied considerably: from winged horses with either a dragon or bird tail (Jósa,

[134] Museum protocols precluded examination of the Tarczal bit in the time available, so its form could not be compared.

1896b: 398—399); to a rising unicorn and bird (Hampel, 1905: 518); to a dog-headed unicorn and another with the head of a dog or wolf and a peacock tail (Fodor, 1996d: 183).

While supporting the general view of the grave belonging to the Conquest Era, Dienes also commented that this grave 8I coverplate motif was "a strange blending of pagan and Christian symbols" (Dienes, 1972: 53). He described the motif as depicting a "Tree of Life [motif]...of bunches of palmettes. In the centre field the cross, [and] on each side rampant mythological beasts" (Dienes, 1972: 88). Dienes (1972: 53) compared the coverplate motif with the motifs on jewellery pieces discovered by Nyáry in two female graves at Piliny in 1871 (one with an amulet and the other a 'Greek inscribed' pendant) (Nyáry, 1873: 16—24). From these, Dienes concluded that the ancient Magyars had viewed Christian prayers and invocations with "the same magic force as pagan spells and incantations" (Dienes, 1972: 53).

Table 5.2 Comparison of Reporting on Bezdéd Sabretache Coverplate

Descriptor	**Jósa (1896b: 398—399)**	**Hampel (1905: 518)**	**Fodor (1996d: 181—185)**
Size	130x150mm	Unstated	136x156mm
Composition	Triple-layered, very thin, gilded	Low-grade silver, covering leather pouch	Gilded copper (also László, 1944: 95)
Motif	--as below--	--as below--	--as below--
Cross	Noted only	Latin (i.e. Roman Catholic)	Byzantine Orthodox, with slightly widening arms
Animals	Stylized 'winged' horses: 1. Dragon's tail and curved horns; 2. Bird's feathered tail and no horns	1.Rising unicorn; 2. Bird	1. Dog headed, winged unicorn; 2. Dog or wolf headed creature with peacock tail and two clawed paws
Foliage	Noted only	4 stylized palmettes in 4 connected sections; & below the bird an indeterminate plant motif, probably "Misconstrued already by its creator" (Hampel, 1905: 518)	
Further Comments	"more interesting" than Szolyva, Galgocz and Tarczal coverplates (Jósa, 1896b: 398)	Plate had wide margins encircling engraved leaf ornaments, framed border roughy-made hallmark circle	Design "unique…in the art of the Conquest period" (Fodor, 1996d: 182)

I examined the coverplate under the same restricted conditions as the sword and dagger. Due to its fragility, the coverplate arrived already mounted on a special board and remained there throughout the viewing. The decorative elements described by the scholars were clearly visible, although in my view the cross was Byzantine Orthodox, as Fodor and László stated, while the animals on the motif were a combination of (1) Jósa's dragon-tailed first 'winged' horse and (2) Hampel's 'bird'.

Fodor's reservation appeared reasonable, that the cross "does not in itself indicate that the deceased was a convert to Christianity" (Fodor, 1996: 183). However, his comment may also have indicated a reluctance by him to consider the possibility of the plate dating the grave to a period after the Conquest Era, given that the conversion of the Magyars to Christianity only began in the latter half of the Tenth Century, almost 50 years after the Conquest Era, and had continued well into the Eleventh Century (see Chapter 2). During that time, it would be reasonable to assume that, despite the focus of the Magyar rulers on Roman Catholicism, some Magyars may have seen little difference between the two versions of Christianity, Roman or Eastern, or may even have viewed them as the same, only with two disputing leaders.

Swords or Sabres

The remains of three weapons described as swords or sabres were in male graves. A slightly curved, 835mm long 'sword' (Plate 6.6) was retrieved from the right side of the skeletal remains in grave 8I (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Its hilt was disconnected from the blade by rust and stretched upward almost to the deceased's armpit (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Initially, Hampel reported the weapon was made of iron, with a 'single edge' and slight curve, and a short horizontal bar with button-shaped ends (Hampel, 1905: 518). He noted the grip 'tongue' was slightly oblique and defective, with rusty wood fibres present (Hampel, 1905: 518). However, Hampel later repositioned the sword to the left side of the male skeleton, with its handle extending to below his shoulder (Hampel, 1905: 518). László repeated Hampel's claim of left-side placing with the hilt extending to the armpit (László, 1944: 95). Fodor claimed this artefact was a sabre, not a sword (Fodor, 1996d: 181). The grave drawing (Folio 401) supported Hampel's left-side placing, with the left forearm bent slightly inwards and lying crossed over it, with the accompanying notes referring to it as a sword.

In grave 10K, the hilt handle of a 'sword' was on the right side of that deceased, and Jósa reported it as slightly bent inward near the grip and slightly curved inward toward the edge (Jósa, 1896b: 402). The hilt's end was heavily corroded, displayed no 'fancy' decoration, and did not follow the same longitudinal axis as the blade, which stretched to halfway along the edge of

the right shoulder and measured 705mm, even with its tip broken off (Jósa, 1896b: 402). Hampel generally agreed with Jósa about this artefact, adding only its length as slightly shorter, at 700mm, and its tip had lain 'against' the shoulder of the deceased (Hampel, 1905: 518). László considered it a sabre lying beside the quiver on the skeleton's right side (László, 1944: 99). The grave drawing and notes (Folio 403) supported the scholars' claims of the weapon's placement, orientation and general condition, but, contrary to László, made no mention of a quiver.

The fully corroded fragments of a third 'sword' lying in a straight line *beside* the left arm of the skeleton were reported from grave 4D (Jósa, 1896b: 394). However, their combined length was not recorded. Conversely, Hampel noted some fragments of a 'sword' *under the left arm* of the deceased (Hampel, 1905: 516), whereas the grave drawing (Folio 397) placed eight fragments in a line *down the left side*, just beyond the skeleton, supporting Jósa's claim.

Fodor noted that sabres had been recovered from two Bezdéd burials but remarked only that the grave 8I 'sabre' suggested that interred was the 'paterfamilias' [in English, the patriarch] of an extended family, who were buried alongside him (Fodor, 1996a: 181). That view followed László's theory of the burial order being based on gender and rank but was not supported by the scattered layout of later-found, larger cemeteries. Dienes made no specific reference to swords or sabres at Bezdéd but made the general comment that: "In Conquest-Period cemeteries two-edged swords instead of sabres are the exception" (Dienes, 1972: 88 Note: 19). On that basis, the inferred single-edged and slightly curved weapons in graves 8I and 10K could have been sabres.

The sabre/sword from grave 8I was examined under strict handling controls and minimal lighting, to protect its fragile state. As Plate 11 shows, the transverse bar on the hilt was missing, with corrosion so great that no ornamentation was visible. The blade appeared quite straight, with only a hint of a curve and was quite narrow, suggesting a lightweight weapon, perhaps a sabre, rather than a heavier broadsword. However, the curvature of the blade was so slight that it may also have been a result of the extensive and very deep corrosion observable. Thus, no firm judgment could be made about the original shape of the blade and the nature of any ornamentation on the handle that might suggest an ethnic association for its owner. The two weapons from graves 10K and 4D, were not offered for examination, so their forms, functions and possible associations could not be assessed.

Arrowheads

In total, 28 arrowheads were reported from six male graves (3F,4D,6B,8I,10K) and one female grave (15e) (Jósa, 1896b: 392, 394, 398, 403). While Hampel mostly concurred, he considered the grave 4D artefact as a possible awl (Hampel, 1905: 517) and counted one less arrowhead for grave 3F (Hampel, 1905: 515). He also recorded a single iron arrowhead fragment from female grave 15e but expressed uncertainty over its association with that grave (Hampel, 1905: 521). Jósa had not reported an arrowhead for that grave (Jósa, 1896b: 406), suggesting the arrowhead noted by Hampel had been included in the grave 15e collection sometime after Jósa's report, possibly in error. László especially noted five graves (3F,4D,6B,8I,10K) containing arrowheads in quivers (László, 1944: 95, 98—99). Grave 8I had the most (eight) arrowheads and grave 10K the least (four) (Jósa, 1896b: 398, 403; László, 1944: 98—99). László claimed the quantum of arrowheads in each grave indicated the rank of the individual in the community, while seemingly overlooking that grave 9J had an elaborate set of artefacts, including the only gold one, yet his quiver held no arrowhead (Jósa, 1896b: 400; László, 1944: 99).

General Observation on the Reporting of Bezdéd Cemetery

My observation of the reporting and artefacts of the Bezdéd assemblage demonstrated clear differences between the scholars' approaches to their work. Jósa reported what he understood from his own observations and inconsistently useful notes provided by Vidovich. Hampel, on the other hand, reported the artefacts as they appeared to him in the National Museum, but with clear discrepancies when compared to the pencil drawings and Jósa's report, both of which would have been available to him. Fettich highlighted errors in Hampel's report but made some errors as well. László attempted to reinterpret the cemetery layout in ethnographic terms with limited success, while overlooking differences between his view and the drawings, although the drawings would still have been known in his time. Dienes and Fodor introduced their own similar perspectives to select elements of the assemblage, focussing their attention on the Uralian region for answers to their questions. In all cases, however, the scholars followed the view presented and inculcated by the earlier finds that, despite any observed anomalies, all 17 graves were those of Conquest-era Magyars.

In the final chapter, I take up some of the issues raised in this and earlier chapters and consider them in a more general sense with regard to the issue of ethnogenetic determination.

Chapter 6

Findings and Conclusions

The final task of this study was to align the findings from the two sets of SSMA maps from Chapters 3 and 4, with the changes in artefacts reporting identified in Chapter 5, and to review them in combination. The results of that review are presented in this final chapter and discussed in relation to the broader issue of their effect on research into Magyar ethnogenesis. An assessment is also offered of the efficacy of the SSMA technique as a suitable method for future research into issues of this type. The chapter concludes with a proposed strategy for future research into the matter of Magyar ethnogenesis.

Impact of the Influence Hubs on the Artefact Reporting

As highlighted in Chapter 5, each case study produced its own set of potential influences that were demonstrated to have impacted to varying degrees on the reporting of the artefacts. Those impacts on the reporting are considered here in combination with the identified motivations of the respective scholars involved, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Jankowich and the Reporting of Benepuszta

The first change of note in reporting of the artefacts was the publication by Jankowich of the Benepuszta report in 1835, which clearly affected the views of later scholars on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis. As the first report publicly declaring an ancient Magyar ethnicity for the deceased and claiming him as a local folk-hero, Jankowich's report aroused great interest among scholars, and became the prototype for later finds. Its impact on later reporting appears to have been profound and lasting, even though elements of his report have been disputed by later scholars, with some aspects still unresolved.

Although Bartucz's 1926 article disputing Jankowich's claims regarding the age and physical features of the deceased has been the only further examination of the human remains; and no biological examination has been made of the equine remains; scholars after Jankowich have accepted his assertion of a Magyar ethnicity for the deceased. As recorded in Fodor (1996), later scholars have also relied on his association of the Benepuszta artefacts with a character from Magyar folklore to characterise many later discovered burials as also being Magyar and dated to the Conquest Era.

Only two aspects of the Benepuszta assemblage, however, have been agreed by all the scholars. The first was that the trefoil palmette found on the belt strap end is emblematic of the ancient Magyars, representing, as Dienes put it the "Tree of Life" in their shamanistic beliefs (Dienes, 1972: 60). The second was that Conquest-era Magyar male graves most often contained equine bones and/or equestrian equipment. Thus, later finds of male graves that included equine bones or equestrian equipment, and the palmette motif found on any associated grave goods, were initially almost automatically assigned to the Conquest-era Magyars. That association persisted even when the assignment of the grave to the ancient Magyars sometimes coincided with anomalous finds among the grave goods, such as with Bezdéd female grave 15e having equestrian equipment, or with sites where the provenance and original contents were even less certain than with Benepuszta, such as the Anarcs assemblage already being in a private collection when reported. Without altering or seeking to validate those early assessments, most more recent scholars seemed to avoid making ethnicity-related associations, preferring to confine their discussions to matters of form and function.

Aspects of the Benepuszta assemblage on which scholars after Jankowich have disagreed, relate to a small number of observations on individual artefacts. Some of the pertinent artefacts were described in the first report by Jankowich but were not, even then, part of the assemblage presented to the Museum and therefore their characteristics are unable to be demonstrated either way. Most notable was the debate over the absent long-bladed weapon, which some scholars (Jankowich, Zichy and Fettich) viewed as a sword, while others (Kovács, Révész and Langó) insisted had been a sabre. However, none of the scholars, past or present, have actually viewed that artefact, with Jankowich having relied for its description solely on the information given to him by Szentkirályi, who had received his advice on it from the shepherds who originally found the grave.

While agreeing on the palmette as indicative of the ancient Magyars, scholars have disagreed over other aspects of the motif on the belt strap end. Jankowich claimed it was North-Asian in style; while Fettich considered its style to be Norman, although having entered the Carpathian Basin from the East. Agreeing with Fettich's Norman-style view for the niello colouring on the artefact, Moberg, however, associated its riveting and floral decoration with the Carolingians, but then claimed that all these elements were less important than the unspecified Byzantine parallels he observed on the artefact. Dienes then took a more assimilative view, claiming the motif was a blend of both 'Oriental' and 'Western' elements. While all views incorporated an easterly-direction for the artefact's pre-Carpathian location, the disparity between the overall views of the scholars remains unresolved. Furthermore, despite their differences of opinion

regarding the origin of this artefact, they all remained committed to the view that the grave held an ancient Magyar, thus supporting the initial ethnic claim made by Jankowich.

The third set of artefacts that attracted debate among the scholars was the cache of coins, which Jankowich used to assign the Benepuszta grave to the first decades of the Tenth Century. Using the coins, Pulszky in 1891 more specifically dated the find to the narrower timespan of 915—923CE, the period when Berengar I was titled Emperor of Italy. Révész suggested recently the later decade of the 930sCE as more accurate, placing the burial into the period when the Magyars were creating more permanently-structured settlements. More significantly, Jankowich used the coins to identify the deceased as the Brave Warrior of Bene rewarded by Prince Solt with an estate in the area, basing his claim on his assessment that all the coins were minted for Berengar I of Italy. Jankowich's association of the coins with Berengar I has been disputed by several later scholars (Pulszky, Nagy, Hampel, Erdélyi and Mesterházy) with each claiming that a different combination of rulers and popes are depicted on them. While these scholars' proposed variations still support a general dating of the grave to the first half of the Tenth Century, they raise the question of whether the deceased was actually Jankowich's Brave Warrior of Bene. Given the many rulers and popes potentially depicted on them, coupled with the slightly later period suggested by Révész, a broader range of contacts and ethnic options for the deceased may be possible, beyond those Jankowich had deduced. Once again, despite their own variable opinions, the later scholars have continued to accept Jankowich's initial assessment of a Conquest-era Magyar as the identity of the deceased without further investigation of alternatives.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Jankowich's motive for casting the Benepuszta deceased as a Conquest-era Magyar, may have been at least in part financially-based and targeted towards attracting additional funds from his wealthy colleagues in the Academy's forerunner Learned Society, as well as attracting attention to his private collection in order to increase its value. The two sales from his collection to the National Assembly in 1836 and, posthumously, in 1846, suggested that the collection was considered to be of sufficient importance to be purchased by the Government and placed in the National Museum.

No further excavation of the Benepuszta site has been carried out since 1834 to confirm or refute Jankowich's assessment of the individual remains or their association with the ancient Magyars of the Conquest Era. This lack of confirmed understanding of the nature of the find can be inferred also from Fodor's comment that: "Since the exact findspot remains unknown, it is

uncertain whether the grave was a solitary burial or part of a larger cemetery" (Fodor, 1996: 338).

Jankowich's assessment of the grave and its ethnic association with the ancient Magyars continues to be accepted unequivocally within Hungary, despite all the uncertainties and unanswered questions surrounding it. The long-term effect of his report, as discussed in Chapter 5, has been the persistence of later scholars in accepting an equine burial and palmette motif as the prototypic features indicating a Conquest-era Magyar burial, even where anomalies have been observed and noted by them.

Érdy and the Reporting of Vereb

The data for the Vereb site showed that both the bioanthropology and archaeology of the find experienced a significant number of reporting changes over time, and that several of those changes were directly ethnicity-related or may have been associated at the time with the scholars' views on Magyar ethnogenesis.

Érdy wrote that he used the Benepuszta report to aid his identification of the Vereb artefacts (Érdy, 1858: 15), from which he had concluded the skeletal remains, like those at Benepuszta, were of a Magyar horseman buried in a 'pagan' style grave in a sandhill and that the deceased had survived a large cranial wound which had been sealed with a silver-plate (Érdy, 1858: 15). Nagy later claimed that drilling a cranial hole and inserting an amulet was a common practice among 'barbarian' peoples and that the same treatment at Vereb indicated the Magyars had a similar custom (Nagy, 1892: 301). This practice he then associated with Scythian burial mounds discovered earlier in southern Russia, (Nagy, 1892: 301).

With regard to the artefacts, Érdy reported the grave assemblage as it was presented to him, making several comments of an ethnic-associative nature. He commented that: the stirrups were similar to some found in graves in Livland, near the Baltic Sea; a bit found in the grave was dissimilar to those found in German graves; and the 12 coins were minted during the reign of King/Emperor Berengar of Italy (888—924CE). Pulszky's only ethnicity-related comment was agreement with Érdy regarding the stirrups and Livland. While Erdélyi associated all the artefacts, including several arrowheads, but not the bit and ring, with a find made by Popov in 1900 near the Don and Ment Rivers, which Erdélyi claimed associated the Vereb find with the Saltovo culture (Erdélyi: 1978: 287).

The greatest distinction between the reports on Vereb related to the coins, with both their quantity and mintages differing markedly. The only aspect upon which all the scholars agreed

was that the coins dated the deceased to the Conquest Era. It was clear also from the reports that the significantly different views of the scholars on the minting of the coins did not detract from their acceptance of the deceased as a Magyar warrior. However, dating of the grave to the Conquest Era cannot ensure such an assessment, as other ethnic groups also resided in the Carpathian Basin during that period.

While Érdy noted the Livland connection for the stirrups, he did not pursue that issue further, instead choosing to follow Jankowich and accepting the grave as that of an ancient Magyar. As noted earlier, Érdy's approach may have been influenced by a combination of a need to be accepted as Hungarian, as evidenced by his name change, and by a desire to enhance his reputation and advance his career at the Museum by being only the second to report an ancient Magyar grave and the first professional archaeologist to do so. The timing of his Vereb report, five years after he received the artefacts, suggests that Érdy waited until the 10-year ban on Academy recruitment had ended and he could attract the attention of aspiring new members with his report. At the same time, the beginning of the new Archaeology Committee at the Academy would have created interest among those in Hungary with a new focus on archaeology. That, in turn, would have provided an opportunity for Érdy to argue for the need to establish a new exhibition at the Museum to display the artefacts acquired by the new Institute and to tap into the resources of that newly-focussed group. By doing so, he could further enhance his own reputation and career at the same time.

Furthermore, if Erdélyi's claim was correct, an association with the Saltovo culture moved the origin of the style of the arrowheads eastward from the Carpathian Basin, in line with the Uralic theory's claim of a Magyar ethnogenesis in the Uralian steppe region. Although this stylistic association has not proven a place of manufacture for the artefacts, as styles can be transported easily from one location to another, it did demonstrate, however, the continuing pervasiveness of the Uralic theory in the minds of more recent Hungarian scholars.

Érdy's timing of the report and motivation for claiming it as ancient Magyar, appeared more probable when considered in the light of Mesterházy's comment that the "political atmosphere created by the reprisals following the 1848—49 Revolution and War of Independence was not conducive to the emergence of a movement to save antiquities" (Mesterházy, 2003: 321). As Mesterhazy suggested, those reprisals were intended to punish and distract the people from further pursuit of political separation from Austria. Coupled with the Academy's recruitment ban affecting its funding and operations, and the need for funds to maintain the Museum's new building and expand its collections, this would have placed considerable pressure on anyone

involved in collecting and preserving the country's cultural heritage at that time, such as Érdy in his role as Antiquities Keeper. With the huge increase in the Academy's membership following the lifting of the recruitment ban in 1858, the opportunity was presented to achieve the dual aims of increasing his personal professional standing and attracting more visitors to the Museum. By labelling the report as an ancient Magyar grave, Érdy would have ensured that it was read with enthusiasm by Hungarians eager to regain some pride in their Magyar heritage and distract themselves from the trauma of the Emperor's post-Revolution repression.

Érdy's report, as only the second one after Benepuszta to have claimed ancient Magyar ethnicity, remained without challenge for 34 years until 1892 when Nagy attempted to promote a Scythian-origin for the Magyars. Even then, however, Nagy agreed with the now-deceased Érdy about most aspects of the Vereb find. This ready acceptance of Érdy's views, suggested that Nagy, who in 1892 was an Assistant in the Antiquities Department at the Museum under its pro-Uralic theory Director, Hampel, was keen to express his alternative opinions, but not to the extent of potentially damaging his career at the Museum. Nagy's later promotion to Keeper of Antiquities at the Museum in 1900 and then to Director of its Military Collections Department only a year after that alludes to a measure of success for him in achieving that balance.

Rómer and Jósa and the Reporting of Galgocz and Anarcs

While Jankowich appears to have been motivated by his need to feed his passion for collecting and Érdy possibly by ambition that necessitated his greater acceptance as a Magyar, Rómer's motivations appear to have been quite different. Roman Catholicism was more than just Rómer's religion, it was his prime interest in archaeology, as evidenced by most of his excavations being churches in and around Budapest. His work on the Galgocz and Anarcs assemblages and their assessment as ancient Magyar were anomalous activities in that regard.

Galgocz

Rómer's initial report, noting the skeletal remains of a male individual accompanied by the bones of a horse, was repeated much later by Fodor, who deduced high rank for the deceased and that he had made his home in the north-eastern section of the territory settled by the Magyars, where he was buried in the "late 920s or early 930s" (Fodor, 1996c: 388). While Rómer reported a sabretache coverplate, several pieces of jewellery and a silver coin for the Galgocz assemblage, his only ethnicity-associated comments for this assemblage relate to the coverplate and the coin.

The sabretache coverplate Rómer initially related to the Hussars of Russia, but later compared the motif on it to the Szolyva coverplate, without acknowledging that Lehoczky had labelled that find as a Hun grave, a view which was supported later by Pulszky and Hampel. The idea of a Hun-Magyar kinship was popular among Hungarians at the time but was in opposition to the Uralic theory supported by the 'German scholars', whom Pulszky later disparaged and whose views both he and Lehoczky had rejected. While agreeing with Rómer on the association of the coverplate with the Hussars, Hampel also identified what he saw as similarities between the palmette motif on the plate and those found on ancient Greek, Assyrian, and early Sassanid artefacts. Later, while adding to the ethnic mix a reference to the Sogdians of Central Asia, Fodor contradicted himself when first he claimed the palmette motif was a clear spiritual identity marker for the Magyars; but then insisted that the Magyars' religion was complex and multi-tiered, inferring that it was difficult to decrypt their beliefs from their iconography.

As for the silver coin, Rómer (1869: 105) reported that it bore Sanskrit text similar to examples he had observed in Vámbéry's writing on the Tartars; while Karabaček, at Rómer's request, dated the coin to the reign of the Tenth-century Samanid ruler, Emir Nasr ben Ahmed, and noted its three Arabic prayer inscriptions. Commenting that he was unaware of a Samanid coin being found previously in Hungary, Karabaček noted that such coins were commonly used in Tenth-century business transactions across northern and western Europe and into Russia (Karabaček, 1870: 119). If correct, the deceased may have acquired the coin in any of those regions or received it from anyone having had business dealings in those areas, leaving wide open the possibilities for its inclusion in this burial and the implications for judgments about the occupation or ethnicity of the deceased.

Later scholars (Pulszky, Nagy and Hampel) either debated the span of the coin's dating or omitted it altogether from their reports. None made ethnic-associated comments until 1996, when Fodor again referred to the Arabic inscription and provided a translation of the Arabic prayers. Despite the uncertainty created by the coin's presence in the grave and the varying interpretations of the coverplate over the years, Fodor, nevertheless, maintained the view of the deceased as being an ancient Magyar warrior from the Conquest Era.

Overall Comment on Galgocz Reporting

The artefacts here, in particular the coverplate and the debate over its motif and the Samanid coin with its Arabic prayer inscription, raised questions regarding not only the dating and ethnicity of the Galgocz assemblage, but more so on the motivations of the scholars in reporting those elements but then not pursing their implications. While Rómer appeared to have

considered the association of these artefacts and sought Karabaček's assistance in the dating of the find, his expressed uncertainty over the coverplate in light of the later Szolyva find, appears to have been brushed aside later by Fodor. In his text, Fodor was promoting a connection with Sogdian wall frescoes for the coverplate's motif. A brief perusal of online images of those frescoes however, does not support Fodor's claim of a similarity with the Galgocz coverplate, except in the broadest sense of some frescoes also showing some floral depictions. However, none sufficiently resemble the motif on this coverplate to be considered an acceptable comparison. Furthermore, as the Sogdians were Central Asian traders in the Sixth to Ninth Centuries, whose business clients spanned a vast area stretching along the ancient Silk Road, making a vague and unsubstantiated association of the Galgocz motif with their frescoes adds little to the issue of Magyar origin, as any similarities could easily have been the result of contact rather than common ethnicity.

Anarcs

As the second Anarcs assemblage, housed at the Ethnography Museum in Budapest, was not examined for this study, the following discussion is confined to Anarcs 1.

Chapter 5 noted that Anarcs 1 was already in private hands when first reported, and no biological remains were among the assemblage. When Rómer and Jósa viewed the artefacts, they were shown to them by other residents of the house, not Czóbel, the absent owner of the collection. It is possible therefore, that their substitute hosts provided the scholars with incorrect information about the artefacts or only showed them part of the assemblage, and that a different conclusion may have been reached if the artefacts had been presented to them by Czóbel himself. Despite this possibility, Rómer still confidently reported the deceased as an adult male Magyar warrior of the Conquest Era, basing his assessment of this collection and its dating on comparison with his earlier excavation at Galgocz. He also reported that the assemblage comprised some coins, several metal clothing accessories, an adze, and an arrowhead. The artefacts were donated later to the National Museum by Czóbel, so it is uncertain if the artefacts the Museum received were the same as reported by Rómer.

In this respect, significant questions exist about the Roman coins in the collection (described in Chapter 5) and their association with the assemblage, together with the ethnic-association of the three-edged arrowhead that Hampel later associated with Scythian graves found elsewhere in Hungary (Hampel, 1900c: 586—587). No adze was reported by any scholar after Rómer.

The third artefact that raised the issue of ethnicity for the Anarcs 1 assemblage was the five-pointed-star-and-crescent pendant. Rómer did not include it in his original report, which suggests that it was not part of the assemblage shown to him and Jósa, but it was reported as part of that assemblage by Hampel, only after Czóbel had presented the collection to the Museum. The later argument by Dienes, and supported by Fodor, for the inclusion of this pendant in the assemblage and its Eastern Slavic manufacture, raises significant questions as to the validity of the assemblage being associated with the Magyars. If the pendant does belong to Anarcs 1, then the contention by Dienes of an Eastern Slavic manufacture should be considered further, as it raises the possibility that its wearer may have been either a Slav himself or had been influenced by Slavic fashion. Whilst Istvánovits later refuted the Slavic claim made by Dienes, preferring a Byzantine origin for the artefact, her contention only adds further to the question of an ethnic association for the artefact, given the size and diversity of the population of Byzantium throughout its history.

The differences expressed by the scholars over the inclusion in the assemblage of the five-pointed-star-and-crescent pendant, when considered in conjunction with their ready acceptance of the anomalies of the coin and arrowhead, suggest that their association of the Anarcs assemblage with the ancient Conquest-era Magyars is debatable and hopeful at best.

Overall Comment on Anarcs Reporting

Rómer's appointment as a Director at the National Museum in 1870, only a few months after the assemblages were reported, was no doubt greatly assisted by his publications of the reports on Galgocz and Anarcs, which happily for Rómer aided both his career aspirations at the National Museum and the needs of the Museum itself. For the Museum, the immediate benefit would have been that the reports supported the conclusions expressed by Érdy, who had retired as a Director only the previous year and whose legacy there the Museum would have wanted to protect. Second, the reports further testified to the uniqueness of the Magyar heritage at a time when some in the country saw the recently-implemented Compromise and its retention of Habsburg rule under the new Dual Monarchy as a betrayal of that heritage. Diverting the public's attention away from politics and into viewing more relics of their heritage would have benefited those in the Government, such as Deák, seeking to ensure the Compromise worked. With the prime role of the Museum, as espoused by its founder Count Ferencz Széchenyi, to advance the knowledge and appreciation of Hungarians for their cultural heritage, bringing two more such finds to the attention of Hungarian academia and the broader community, would have served to provide the Museum with two more assemblages to acquire for its collection and exhibit to a

public growing in awareness of that cultural heritage. At the same time, Rómer acquired a prestigious position at the Museum that enabled him to pursue his passion for the archaeology of Medieval churches in a paid capacity, with his problems with Pulszky only surfacing later.

While Rómer's initial reports labelled the Galgocz and Anarcs assemblages as ancient Magyar, the failure of the later scholars to pursue the implications of the anomalies they observed among the artefacts, suggests an approach of selective reporting was adopted. In doing so, the assumptions they made and views they proposed about the artefacts in turn raised more questions than were answered by their reports, both about the overall assemblage and about their own motivations. To pursue an analysis of those motivations would require a significant extension of the time to cover the intervening 130 years and is beyond the scope of this study. However, hints of those motivations are suggested by the coincidences of some reporting changes. For instance, Fettich's omission of the Arabic inscription on the Galgocz coin from his 1937 text on metallic artefacts of the Conquest Era coincided with National Socialism and its racist rhetoric growing in Germany in the 1930s and spreading to Austria and Hungary. This was rhetoric that could be expected to have discouraged the pursuit of any scholarship involving 'non-Aryans'. Much later, Fodor's association of the Galgocz coverplate with Sogdian frescoes only serves to cloud the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis. It obfuscates the fact that after 150 years of excavations and thousands of finds in the Carpathian Basin, as well as several ventures to the Uralian steppes, Hungarian scholars remain dependent on the linguistic connection for 'proof' of the Uralic theory.

As noted in Chapter 3, Rómer's life and work were directly and profoundly affected by his close association with members of the Habsburg royal family, while his working relationship with Pulszky and Hampel may well have impacted on his later life and work at the Museum. Pulszky's deprecating reference to German scholars and their support for the Uralic theory's view of the ancient Magyars as Uralian nomadic pastoralists, may well have been directed in part at the ethnic-German Rómer, whose reporting of the Galgocz and Anarcs assemblages indirectly supported the Uralic theory. Rómer's friend and mentor, and another ethnic-German priest, Árnold Ipolyi, who is briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, may have been a further target of Pulszky's comment, although his biography has not been included in this study.

Lehoczky and the Reporting of Szolyva

As an amateur archaeologist, the lawyer Lehoczky, was not recognised in his lifetime by the Academy, even though he was highly regarded by the Government, which employed him as the

cultural member of its official Monuments Committee, and by various other cultural institutions and societies. Elements of his report, however, were taken seriously be several of the scholars, such as the gilding on the Galgocz coverplate only being reported by Rómer after Lehoczky reported gilding on the Szolyva coverplate. Nevertheless, as noted in Chapters 3 and 5, his view of a Hun-Magyar kinship, a popular view with the broader community and a few contemporary scholars, such as Pulszky, was considered incorrect and 'romantic' by the Uralic theorists, led by Budenz and Hunfalvy. This likely contributed to the Academy not electing him as a member. Therefore, it was only after his death that the Academy finally acknowledged his contribution, by renaming its research facility in the Ukraine as the Tivadar Lehoczky Research Institute in his honour.

Despite that belated recognition, later scholars still seek to negate his view of a Hun-Magyar kinship. As noted in Chapter 5, Lehoczky associated the Szolyva grave with the Huns in the article's title: *A szolyvai hun-sír* [in English, The Hun Grave from Szolyva]. Fodor later argued that Lehoczky had meant that the grave displayed 'Hun-like' traits (Fodor, 1996: 176), a view which Fodor supported. However, if that were Lehoczky's intention, then he would perhaps have titled his article: *A szolyvai hunnai-sír* [in English, The Hunnish Grave from Szolyva], but did not do so. In later articles on the find Lehoczky's frequent adjustments to measurements of the artefacts support the view that he was pedantic about his writing, while, at the same time, he made no change to his reporting of the ethnicity of the Szolyva deceased. Thus, whether Lehoczky was correct or not in a Hun ethnic-association for the grave, his lack of revision of that aspect in six subsequent articles on the Szolyva find, coupled with his castigation of Boncz regarding differences between the Szolyva and Galgocz coverplates, confirms his adherence to the popular view of a Hun ancestry for the Magyars.

As noted in Chapter 5, other scholars referred to various aspects of Lehoczky's report in their own assessments, including Pulszky, Nagy and Rómer. The first scholar after Lehoczky to make a specific comment on Lehoczky's ethnic association with the Szolyva grave was Fodor, who as noted above accepted an association of the Szolyva burial with "Hunnish" custom (Fodor, 1996f: 176). His publication came exactly 100 years after the 1896 Millennial Anniversary celebrations and was financed by "the Memorial Committee for the 1100th Anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest and the Ministry of Culture" (Fodor et al, 1996: 2). While his motivation for making a *Hunnish* association with the Szolyva find is unclear, Fodor's summary of the pre-Carpathian history of the Magyars (Fodor, 1996: 13—18) makes no mention of contact with the Huns, but promotes the Uralic theory, both in its text and the map inside the front cover.

Tóth later explains the use of the term *Hunnish* in studies on the archaeology of the Fifth Century, i.e. the Hun period in Hungary (Tóth, 2003: 285). She notes the term is used by modern Hungarian scholars as a more accurate reflection of reality, given the multitude of peoples in the region over the centuries (Tóth, 2003: 285). While her explanation is rational for modern scholars, usage of the term today does not negate the views of Nineteenth-century scholars, such as Lehoczky, who saw their reporting in less-nuanced terms and applied their views to the promotion of ethnogenetic theories.

Among the artefacts of the Szolyva assemblage, two have attracted significant debate since Lehoczky's initial report.

The first is a piece of silver-plating that Lehoczky and Hampel viewed as an ornament for a felt hat rim (Lehoczky, 1870: 203, 275; Hampel, 1900d: 704). Boncz saw it as part of a Slovak or Magyar quiver (Boncz, 1886: 201) and later scholars identified it as a sabretache coverplate (Fettich, 1935: 14—15, 1937: 78; Dienes, 1972: 66, 87; Fodor, 1996f: 177).

This artefact holds an important place in the issue of Magyar ethnogenetic determination as several scholars also used it to support their views on other finds. As noted earlier, Rómer referred to this artefact when he revised his views on the Galgocz coverplate and ethnically-identified the Anarcs assemblage; while Jósa referred to it again in his report on the Bezdéd cemetery. Nagy also used the artefact to support his Scythian-origin theory for the Magyars; while Fettich, later still, saw it as supportive of the Uralic theory. Fettich was the first to associate the artefact with the region around the Volga-Kama and Don-Dnieper river systems, and intimated that the Magyars had lived in that region before moving into the Carpathian Basin (Fettich, 1935: 14—15). By further claiming that the artefact, which he also saw as a sabretache coverplate, was typical of the artistry of nomadic peoples in that region in the late Ninth and early Tenth centuries (Fettich, 1935: 14—15), Fettich was clearly associating the Magyars with the Uralic theory's migratory pathway from the Ural steppes to the Carpathian Basin.

An iron fragment, that Lehoczky variously described as spike-shaped and bayonet-shaped and claimed was used as a spur (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), attracted brief commentary from Fodor on its origin. While agreeing with Lehoczky about its bayonet-like shape, Fodor disagreed about the artefact being a 'spur', declaring that "the Hungarians of the Conquest period, riding their horses in nomadic fashion, did not use [spurs]" (Fodor, 1996f: 176) and insisting that no spurs had been found in Conquest-era graves (Fodor, 1996f: 176). In that comment, Fodor was perpetuating the 'nomadic pastoralist' view of the Uralic theory and indicating its continued pervasiveness in Hungarian archaeological thinking.

The third Szolyva artefact that attracted significant scholarly disagreement, was a sandstone slab, the placement of which, Lehoczky vacillated over in his reports (Lehoczky (1870: 204, 1881: 114, 1892: 129). While Hampel and Fettich only discussed its position in relation to the deceased, Fodor accepted Lehoczky's initial report as the more accurate and claimed the block served as a pillow under the head of the deceased. Much earlier, however, while agreeing with Hampel and Fettich about the position of the slab above the head of the deceased, Nagy deduced that the placement of the slab indicated a possible Cumanian burial. As Chapter 2 notes, the Cumanians were invited by two Magyar kings to live in the Carpathian Basin, first in the early Eleventh Century and then in the mid Thirteenth Century, with both invitations extended so as to provide better border protection for the Kingdom. If Nagy is to be believed, then this suggests that the Szolyva burial may have occurred much later than the Conquest, at least 100 years later and possibly as late as 350 years later. Furthermore, as Nagy was promoting a Scythian-origin for the Magyars, his mention here of a Cumanian burial practice, suggests that he was approaching the assessment of this burial from a more open perspective than some of the other scholars studied here. In any case, the anomaly of this slab's placement in the grave, like so many other anomalies already mentioned, has not been further investigated by later scholars.

Overall Comment on the Reporting of Szolyva

As with the Anarcs assemblage reported by Rómer, it is clear from the disagreements over the contents of the Szolyva grave that Lehoczky's initial assessment of the grave as Conquest-era Magyar warrants some reconsideration, if only to determine the impact of the anomalies within it. It further raises the question of how many anomalies one needs to observe before one begins to accept the possibility of alternative explanations. In the next section on the Bezdéd cemetery the issue of anomalies becomes even more conspicuous.

Jósa and the Reporting of Bezdéd

Due to his work with Rómer on Galgocz and Anarcs and his establishment of the Nyiregyháza Museum, Jósa was already known and respected among archaeologists when excavation of the Bezdéd site began in April 1896.

Having already discussed the role of Jósa in relation to his association with Rómer and those other assemblages, this section only considers issues relevant to the excavation of the Bezdéd cemetery in 1896 and Jósa's dual-role as one of the excavators for graves 14d,15e,17E and first reporter of the entire find. As stated in earlier chapters, the excavation and initial reporting of

the excavation coincided with the Millennial Anniversary celebrations of 1896. The finding of a cemetery of purportedly 'ancient Magyar' graves at that time, inevitably attracted a great deal of public attention. Jósa's initial article in June that year quickly made the site famous. It can be assumed that his subsequent, more comprehensive report in November that year was eagerly awaited, and public expectations would have placed great pressure on him to report all the graves as Conquest-era Magyar, even where the evidence was inconclusive or even suggestive of other explanations.

The drawings and their accompanying notes (Folios 394—409, 411) are taken here as the primary source for information on the find. While differences in the reporting of the stirrups in the assemblage (see Chapter 5) do not impact on the key issue of influences on the indicators to Magyar ethnogenesis, and are not discussed further here, reading of those differences suggests that the drawings may still have been available to Hungarian scholars when László wrote his text in 1944, but were not always consulted.

Of particular note from the perspective of ethnic-association is the triple-layered metal plate found in Grave 8I, with a motif that Jósa described as displaying stylized winged horses and which he considered as either the trimming of a hat rim or a quiver end piece. While Hampel disputed its function, claiming it instead as a silver sabretache coverplate, he devoted most of his text to its motif which he depicted as a field of foliage with a Latin cross and rising unicorn. His claim that the creator of the plate "had misconstrued already" (Hampel, 1905: 518) the shape of a palmette suggests that he viewed the unusual motif as indicating its craftsman did not have an accurate understanding of the belief system of the ancient Magyars, and, therefore, may not have been a Magyar himself. If correct, this suggests the deceased had contact with a craftsman from another ethnic group, and perhaps one who had limited other contact with the Magyars.

Dienes only noted the artefact as representing a meld of Christian and pagan symbolism, inferring from this that the ancient Magyars viewed both belief systems as having similar spiritual powers. While his further comments on the novelty of this coverplate among Magyar burials and its possible manufacture north of the regular eastern trade routes, perhaps among or near to the "Cheremiss/Mari people" (Dienes, 1972: 67), suggest that he was looking at the Ural steppes for its origin. Fodor took up that religious and ethnic theme in viewing the motif on the artefact as expressing beliefs indicative of "the eastern roots of Hungarian art in the Conquest period" (Fodor, 1996a: 183).

General Comment on the Bezdéd Reporting

The analysis shows that Jósa followed Rómer's lead, even after Rómer's death in 1889, when he wrote the 1896 report on the Bezdéd cemetery claiming Magyar ethnicity for the graves. This was even though some finds in that cemetery (e.g. female Grave 15e and male Grave 9J) did not conform to the by-then accepted style of ancient Magyar burials.

With all the artefacts in the Bezdéd assemblage, Hampel took a less ethnically-descriptive, more cataloguing, approach than Jósa, which suggests that the earlier fervour for finding and identifying graves as ancient Magyar, was already beginning to lose momentum soon after the Millennial Anniversary year had ended. At that time also, the 'old school' of scholars, such as Hunfalvy, Budenz, Pulszky and Rómer, had died, and the Zichy expeditions to the Urals were just beginning in search of the locational element of the Uralic theory.

The analysis further indicates that towards the end of the Nineteenth Century both the Academy and the National Museum were undergoing changes, with new appointees to their senior positions, such as Hampel and Nagy, taking different approaches to their predecessors. It can be said that Jósa's reporting of the Bezdéd cemetery coincided with both the end of an era in reporting of the artefacts with stated ethnic associations, and the beginning of a new one where ethnic associations were less frequently made and more carefully expressed.

Zichy conducted a total of three expeditions to the Caucasus-Urals region between 1895 and 1905. Hampel published his two compendia during that time (Hampel, 1900, 1905). These compendia demonstrate that the attitude of certainty was less pronounced from that time on, with Hampel's texts much less forthright in their Magyar associations than those of earlier scholars. In those volumes, Hampel's more cataloguing and less interpretive style may have been in reaction to the nationalistic push of the previous decades, when scholars were encouraged to 'see' Magyar prehistory in their work. This was particularly so in the aftermath of the 1848—49 Revolution and during the Millennial Anniversary year. Hampel's less committal approach, however, may also have been due to his now dual status of National Museum Director and editor of the *Archaeológiai Értesítő* pressuring him to steer a cautious middle path between his support for the Uralic theory's Uralian ancestry for the Magyars and his late father-in-law's opposition to that view and its supporters.

When Count Jenő Zichy later published reports on the expeditions' findings in the Urals, many scholars appear to have definitively embraced the Uralic theory, and those against it, such as

the now deceased Vámbéry, were relegated to the list of the vanquished in the Ugric-Turkic War.

Timeline Changes

In the earliest days of the archaeological finds labelled as ancient Magyar, Hungarians were looking for an identity separate from their Austrian rulers. They sought that identity first in their distinct Magyar language, which linguists of the Eighteenth Century had associated first with the Lapps, then with the Finns and progressively in the Nineteenth Century with the peoples of the Uralian steppes that became collectively referred to as Ugors (that is, Ugrians).

As later finds were made, Nineteenth Century archaeologists adopted the views of their predecessors, even where the artefacts before them did not reflect the same characteristics as the first finds. Over time, the initial reports were disputed, but only about issues of form and function, while the basic tenet of Magyar ethnicity for the finds remained unchallenged by most Hungarian scholars. By the 1930s, the Ugric-Turkic War had been declared as won by the supporters of the Uralic theory and the remaining few who sought alternative explanations were either ignored or forced to relocate elsewhere to pursue them. At the same time, scholarship in ethnogenetic studies was becoming less popular, with archaeological finds being treated more and more as collections of artefacts disassociated with the people that had made, used or loved them. Secularisation of the artefacts, in line with secularisation of the population during first the Nazi era and then the Soviet decades, was affecting the interpretation of finds. Issues of ritual or religious significance raised by the finds were largely not pursued or were peremptorily dismissed as superstitions or 'false consciousness', without exploration of their impact on the people who may have held those beliefs.

By the time László wrote his text, Hungary was deeply involved in World War II. The year of his publication, 1944, was the same year that Hungary's Regent, Admiral Horthy, resigned his position and a new pro-Nazi regime took over the country, supporting German advances eastward into Russia and beginning the transportation of Jews and other 'undesirables' to concentration camps. It can be assumed that under such unsettled and difficult times in the country (politically, economically and socially), care would have been needed in what one wrote about and how one expressed oneself publicly. While László's personal views about the regime change and its implications for his work are not directly alluded to in any way in his text, his 'sanitised' descriptions of the finds, suggest he was mindful of the political situation around him and keen to avoid any hint of partisanship one way or another in his writing.

Later still, in 1972, when Dienes described the Bezdéd coverplate motif as a strange blending of pagan and Christian symbols, and that Christian prayers and invocations were viewed by the ancient Magyars as having the equivalent effect of pagan spells and incantations, he may also have been reflecting the views of his time. Hungary at that time was behind the Soviet-dominated Iron Curtain and religious devotion of any kind, especially to Catholicism, was viewed there publicly as undesirable, even heretical. Therefore, by referring to the two belief systems of Christianity and Paganism as the same in the eyes of the ancient Magyars, Dienes (1972) could have been minimising the impact of that change in religion in the mind of anyone reading his text. Like László earlier with the Nazi regime, he could have been sanitising his writing to meet the political exigencies in Hungary at that time.

With the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, the repressive, Soviet-led regime was replaced by a new declaration of independence in Hungary in 1990 and the establishment of a new parliamentary democracy. Writing six years later, Fodor (1996) was reflecting the changed political situation in Hungary. The country was asserting its new 'separate-ness', while reconnecting with its heritage, although now in a less partisan more broadly inclusive manner than in the Nineteenth or early Twentieth centuries.

Overall Comment on the Six Assemblages

In summary, the graves of the six assemblages produced a large variety of grave goods of both domestic utilitarian types and more elaborate, decorative, and perhaps ritually significant ones. The scholars' reports of the finds agreed in many respects, sometimes even directly quoting each other regarding the quantity, form, function and locations of the remains and artefacts within the grave pits. Some of the difference as shown in the preceding chapter, may be due to a lack of referral by later scholars to the original report of a find, to deficiencies in the clarity of the original reports, and in the skills of the respective scholars regarding identifying materials used to make the artefacts.

Where the scholars expressed their individual views based on factors other than the artefacts, they tended to move into what could be described as reasonable supposition: an individual makes a claim that is not certain but can be considered as possible given the available evidence. This is an approach also taken in this study. However, where the scholars made those claims without explanations for the bases of those views, their unsubstantiated claims reveal some potential biases and possible influences on their writing. In 1896 the view appears to have already existed among Hungarian scholars that the artefacts of the ancient Magyars and

therefore their pre-Carpathian movements, could be typologically confirmed by comparisons with only a few artefacts found at sites in the Carpathian Basin, even though questions remained about those sites.

Jankowich may have been reasonable in some of his assumptions, but his comments on the sex and occupation of the deceased and an ethnic association and specific identification with a folkloric personality suggest his report should have been viewed with greater caution than was shown in the Nineteenth Century. Rather, his report's ready acceptance by Nineteenth-century scholars as the prototype for later identifications with the ancient Magyars suggests a willingness by some in that era to create a view of the ancient Magyars that bolstered the push to establish a clear Magyar ethnic identity and history. In the minds of those opposed to the Habsburg regime's control over the Magyar Kingdom, crafting a distinct identity as one people and a long and illustrious pre-Habsburg heritage, could have served to lift the Magyar people's self-image. By doing so, it could have countered among the people a perceived German-dominated, Austrian Imperial Court's view of the Magyars as rightfully having a subordinate status within the Empire. However, as discussed in Chapter 5, opinions differed greatly among the scholars on what that crafted identity should be.

Although many explanations were advanced for the unusual nature of some artefacts, some scholars (Érdy, Rómer and Jósa) were content to use the Benepuszta report to aid in their reporting of archaeological finds, and thereby indirectly supported the linguists' Uralian-centric view, even where they observed significant differences. Others, however, (Pulszky, Lehoczky and Nagy) viewed Magyar ancestry in markedly different terms. They expressed their views either through comparisons of the artefacts (Lehoczky and Nagy) or through castigating the opposition for maintaining their views in light of later finds necessitating the reconsideration of already known assemblages (Pulszky). The tension between the opposing camps played out over the remainder of the Nineteenth Century and into the Twentieth Century. Neither camp conceded defeat, even though supporters of the Uralic theory declared victory for their side in 1920. As noted in Chapter 2, in that same year, the Treaty of Trianon severed large tracts of land from Hungarian territory. In doing so, it also removed the opportunity for archaeological excavations in those areas by Hungarian scholars. This was particularly so to the east end of the now former Hungary where the ancient Magyars purportedly entered the Carpathian Basin, and which might offer further evidence as to their migratory pathway to the Basin.

Conclusions and General Discussion

From the outset, this study has been about the scholars and their lives and associations, not the Uralic theory of Magyar ethnogenesis that they created and promoted (or in some cases opposed). It has sought to recognise the influences that the lives and associations of the scholars had on their work and interpretations of their data in the environment of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. In that sense, the study has not been an archaeological research topic, nor one of linguistics, sociology, politics, history or psychology. It has been, rather, a cross-disciplinary effort to profile the scholars historically, biographically and psychologically and understand their motivations, combining elements from all those fields to arrive at its conclusions regarding the reporting of artefacts associated with the ancient Magyars.

The study considered the proposition that, in some cases where archaeology has been used to demonstrate ethnic origin, evidence existed for manipulation of information, in order to create new 'knowledge' about an ethnic group and its ancestral territorial connections. In doing so, the analysis has identified some influences by external factors on the archaeological reporting that contributed to promoting the Uralic theory to its position of dominance in the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis. Tracing the creation and early promotion of the dominant Uralic theory, the study has shown clear evidence of preferential reporting, selective interpretation and data manipulation by the early scholars, which impacted on the knowledge to be gained from the artefacts in the six case study assemblages.

Evidence for the Manipulation of Information in the Case Study Reports

Evidence of manipulation and bias is observable in several of the early scholars' publications. Preferential data reporting and alteration of conclusions are revealed in the analysis of the Eighteenth-century linguists responsible for creating the Uralic theory; while bias in interpretation has been deduced among the Nineteenth-century linguists who heatedly debated the issue of Magyar origins in an atmosphere of public denouncement and ridicule.

In comparing the archaeological reports published over time with each other and with the current assemblages in the Hungarian National Museum, it is clear that assumptions made by the early scholars have continued to be presented by their successors about both the contents of the graves and the significance of those contents. Even where the early scholars' own observations suggested alternative possibilities worthy of further exploration, the analysis shows that they made selections about what they would illustrate and discuss. Sometimes, in

making those selections, they either chose not to pursue other possible explanations or were so intent on supporting their own views that they ignored the evidence before them.

Selective reporting and interpretation to meet predetermined aims are also evident in the eagerness of some Nineteenth-century reporters of archaeological finds to attribute finds to the Conquest Era, even where the evidence before them raised other possibilities. Some scholars were accused of reporting bias by others, while their accusers equally demonstrated bias in their own writings. In only one case, the initial reporting of the Szolyva assemblage, was the artefact reporting found to be simply a report on the find, without other discernible agendas.

Furthermore, where anomalies were acknowledged in the reports, they were simply noted and ignored by the reporting scholars or manipulated by other scholars after the initial reports, to support their own, sometimes contradictory, views regarding the ethnicity of the deceased and the dating of the grave. Ultimately the volume of anomalies warranting proper investigation across the six assemblages was found to be sufficiently significant to prompt the as-yet-unanswered question of: what volume of anomalies might be necessary before Hungarian scholars initiate such an investigation?

Evidence for the Impact of Influences on the Scholars

It has long been known that the political, social and economic environments in which scholars work and produce their reports impact on all archaeological research and interpretation to some degree, and that exposure to such external factors can encourage manipulation of data to occur.

In conducting the study, it has become apparent that external influences (personal and institutional) played more than a passing role in the way in which Hungarian scholars viewed the artefacts and the identity of the associated individual. The three key institutional hubs - the Habsburg Imperial Court, the Roman Catholic Church and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences - all imposed their own requirements and expectations on the scholars that then contributed to forming their views and shaping the output from their work.

The study found that the scholars were motivated by many needs other than the pursuit of facts about the origin of the Magyars. Those motivations included the need for money to pursue other passions, ambition to promote their own reputations and enhance their careers or to position themselves to gain high profile positions, a strong desire to please their mentors, a need to protect family reputations, and a willingness to argue against rivals and ideological opponents.

Some early scholars pursued or supported a particular line of investigation to the exclusion of others (Sajnovics, Hunfalvy, Budenz), made unsupported claims for financial gain (Jankowich), or altered their final reports to suit the views of a trusted mentor (Gyarmathi). Others timed their reporting to influence other scholars and patrons and thereby attract funding for various purposes (Érdy), or to improve their selection prospects for a much-desired position (Rómer).

Some deferred to the opinions of other 'more experienced' mentors (Jósa), failed to contribute their own views at all (Hampel), or excused their indecision or timidity at reporting by blaming illegible field notes (Jósa again). Some scholars made ethnic attributions for a grave based on popular opinion (Lehoczky), or carefully omitted information that could prejudice their positions or embarrass their families (Hampel again). Yet others supported one opinion over another based more on aggravated personal relationships and prejudices than on the evidence (Pulszky). A final group ventured alternative views that prompted great friction, causing immediate negative impacts on their careers (Vámbéry), while others promoted alternative views only to the extent that those views did not adversely impact their career progression (Nagy).

With the possible exceptions of Pulszky (who, as a nobleman, had a strong sense of entitlement) and Hunfalvy (who was well-respected and influential in his own right), the study demonstrated that the scholars, in the main, were seeking the approval or financial support of influential others at the personal and institutional level. To achieve that aim, the scholars tailored their actions and reporting to meet the expressed or expected views of their target audiences.

Evidence for the Manipulation of Data by Later Scholars

The impacts of biased reporting, selective interpretation, data manipulation and other forms of bias have seen a serious clouding of the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis over time, making later generations of scholars often reluctant to tackle the issue of establishing the prehistoric heritage of the Magyar ethnic group.

Consequently, among the more recent scholars reporting on the six case study assemblages, most have allowed the published opinions of their predecessors to go largely unchallenged, except where a clear error of measurement or fact could be detected (for instance, Fettich).

Biased reporting has been observed in later studies of the assemblages, with the omission of some artefacts or potentially controversial descriptions of them from reports and articles over the past 180 years, as well as data manipulation through the inclusion of other artefacts that did not get a mention in the original assemblage reports. This may, however, equally be the result

of poor curation of collections during often-turbulent times in Hungary's recent history that have mixed different collections together.

In all cases presented, later scholars appear to have taken one or other of three paths in reporting on the assemblages. They may have focussed only on limited aspects of the early finds (László, Dienes, Mesterházy, Langó) and avoided the more controversial aspects. Alternatively, they have expressed opinions about the finds without adequate supporting evidence (László) or clarification (Fodor). Or, as I observed in sourcing material for the study, many recent writers appear to be focussing their efforts on presenting their own, later finds, limiting their analyses to the dating, type and style of artefacts, making brief comparisons with artefacts elsewhere, but largely avoiding interpretive analysis of any kind on the early-reported assemblages.

A few scholars (e.g. Révész, Istvánovits, G. Kiss, A. Kiss) are attempting the ambitious task of cataloguing and progressively publishing all the material culture found in an area, with the ultimate intent to record the archaeology of the entire country. To date, the artefacts of perhaps five or six of the 69 counties have been published in this manner, with the remaining publications to occur as and when resources become available. A future review of those publications and their authors may yield evidence of more recent influences and the impacts on later generations of scholars and their work.

While the motivations and influences of the later scholars did not form part of this study, it is clear that the actions of the early scholars had long-term impacts on later work, with scholars since then either following the Uralic view unreservedly, withholding alternative opinions and stifling later debate, or simply avoiding altogether the issue of ethnogenetic determination. The effect has been that a proper scientific investigation of Magyar ethnogenesis has not occurred.

Rather, the ideology of a Uralic ethnogenesis has been accepted and internalised in the broader Hungarian community through repetition in later reports and the apparent absence of open discussion. Given the great diversity of ethnic groups within its population, the political need to ensure a unified community in Hungary appears to have overtaken the issue of ethnic heritage, to the extent that current research into the genesis of any ethnic group in the country is viewed as counterproductive to that communal unity. Therefore, current research into Magyar origins is limited to work that supports or at least does not contradict the accepted Uralic view.

Evaluation of the Usefulness of the SSMA Technique

Application of the 'Social Stratigraphic Mapping and Analysis' (SSMA) technique has enabled the study to break new ground in identifying the individual and institutional influences on the early

scholars and bring to light evidence of personal bias, preferential reporting, selective interpretation and data manipulation. At the same time, it has proposed explanations for the occurrence of these actions and the impact they have had over subsequent decades on Magyar ethnogenetic studies.

As such, the SSMA technique has proved to be particularly useful in delivering on the needs of the study. The sourcing and grouping, thematically and temporally, of the various aspects of the scholars' lives and work – their formative years, adult relationships, employment, interests and aspirations, and work output – and presentation in a mapping format, has enabled the interactions between the groups to be readily observed, analysed and interpreted. The strength of each interaction has been indicated and the overall picture has demonstrated the key influences on the scholars. In doing so, the SSMA technique has brought to light information about the scholars and their influences that lay dormant and unrecognised among the multitude of biographies and reports and presented them in a meaningful format for further analysis.

With that information in hand, the reporting on the artefacts has been reviewed to determine where those influences have had an impact and to consider such impacts in the context of the environment in which they occurred. The result is a critical review of the issue of ethnogenetic determination in Hungary that raises important considerations for future studies on the origins of ethnic groups.

Recognising that no research method is without limitations as to what it can hope to achieve, as well as the necessary constraints on this approach, both in its design and implementation, it is acknowledged that the method, as applied here, has limitations and a later application of the method, using more advanced future software systems, might produce improved results.

Ethnogenetic Research in Hungary – A General Discussion

In locations where human habitation has comprised only a small number of dissimilar groups over extended periods, it is reasonable to identify and allocate distinctive material cultures with one or another particular group, or with an era within a group's existence. In such circumstances, ethnic association can be simply a convenient descriptor of the uniqueness of the material culture of the diversity of inhabitants in an area.

However, in a situation where human habitation has consisted of numerous groups both resident in and traversing a territory over several millennia, such as in the Carpathian Basin; and where many of those groups have co-existed or co-mingled, acquiring each other's customs and artefacts, the association of burials with a particular ethnicity based solely on their

accompanying material culture is fraught with problems. Moreover, any resultant conclusions can be subject to so many qualifications that claimed associations may in effect be considered meaningless.

It is that approach that has been taken to extremes in Hungary, where not only is such difficulty acknowledged, but it has in some cases led to an almost total lack of interest in even attempting to understand the ethnic association of graves. In sourcing material for this study, it became evident that some publications in Hungary today are essentially little more than artefact catalogues lacking the interpretive analysis needed to advance the field.

In the first three quarters of the Twentieth Century, Hungarian scholars could be excused for having had strong political and personal safety reasons for not attempting to enter the Steppes region to conduct the necessary research to validate or refute the Uralic theory. Two World Wars, both begun in Europe and spreading across the Urals and into Asia, followed in the region by a long and repressive period of political suspicion and aggression, made such ventures unwise for scholars. As a consequence, the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis received only sporadic and limited further attention from scholars in Hungary once the Uralic theory's supporters declared victory for their view in 1920.

With scholars in Hungary today largely unwilling to pursue the matter of Magyar ethnogenesis from an open and dispassionate perspective devoid of assumptions about the pursuit of nationalism, the likelihood of an evidence-based answer as opposed to a politically or socially-acceptable one being found to the question of Magyar ethnogenesis remains as far away today as in the past. Indeed, the search for such evidence does not even appear to be 'on the radar' for most archaeologists in Hungary, regardless of their personal or political motivation.

The prominent Hungarian archaeologist Csanád Bálint commented in 1994 that archaeologists in Hungary in more recent times have become much more aware of the pitfalls of assuming a connection between an artefact or assemblage and an ethnic group (Bálint, 1994: 39). Perhaps the truth is rather that Hungarian archaeologists have become only too aware of the pitfalls?

As observed from the literature review, while ethnic attributions of finds were made in the early reports, in the most recent publications such attributions of finds are generally unstated, even at a basic comparative level. Such reticence on the part of current scholars may be explained in part by a view that discussion of ethnicity is socially divisive and promotes unwanted nationalistic fervour, reminiscent of the nationalist ideology that pervaded Nineteenth-century

Hungary (Zsuzsanna Posztos[135], 2008: personal communication; László Papi Varga, 2010: personal communication).

Today, as observed during the fieldwork, scholars in Hungary appear to prefer remaining within the pragmatic boundaries of artefact typology and cataloguing, confining their analyses to matters of form and function, rather than venturing into more complex interpretive analysis and the highly politically-sensitive area of possible ethnic attribution. As the Romanian archaeologist Florin Curta has commented: "In eastern Europe, the concept of archaeological culture is still defined in monothetic terms on the basis of the presence or absence of a list of traits or types derived from typical sites or intuitively considered to be representative cultural attributes" (Curta, 2001: 367).

In Hungary, Curta's typification still appears to encompass much of the research, as evidenced by the many catalogue-style texts published on finds, which begin with the premise that a site that includes at least one of the supposed identity markers for the ancient Magyars (the palmette motif or a horse burial) is a Magyar site probably dated to the Conquest Era. As such, scholars there avoid the need to investigate properly the possible ethnic associations of anomalies within the finds, and through their omissions continue tacitly to perpetuate the Uralic theory. This suggests that ideology and expediency remain key aspects of archaeological work in Hungary and that reporting and interpretation on the issue of Magyar ethnogenesis are being sidelined to accommodate that ideology and whatever agenda it may serve.

Future Research Strategies

As highlighted in Chapter 1, Crumley posited that ethnic legitimation required a geographic anchor – that is, a place that can be considered as the rightful place of origin for the group and can support their claim to territorial pre-emption. In the case of the Uralic theory and its purported Uralian Steppes geographic anchor, the evidence to date remains scant and widely open to alternative explanations. If Crumley is right, the current lack of supporting archaeological evidence for a Magyar ethnogenesis in the Uralian Steppes region and the seeming reluctance of many modern Hungarian archaeologists to even look for it, suggest that perhaps the lack of archaeological evidence is due to there not being any evidence there to be found (something so far not demonstrated either way). Or perhaps, as with the early scholars examined in this study, the seeming reluctance of modern archaeologists in Hungary to look for any archaeological evidence of Magyar ethnogenesis is due to more than the obvious financial

[135] Zsuzsanna Posztos is a retired, former director of child welfare services in Hungary. László Papi Varga is a local historian and historical tour guide in Szeged, who introduced me to Professor Kürti.

constraints imposed by the need to search over an extensive area. As shown by this study of the early scholars, what that *more* is for modern scholars may be just as important to understanding the issue of research into ethnogenetic determination and its impact on the understanding of Hungarians about their heritage, as is knowledge about the artefacts of that heritage.

Following on from the research conducted for this study, additional areas of historiographic research seem worthy of pursuit. A program of research into the scholars of the Twentieth Century, whose lives and work spanned an extended period of heightened political, social and economic turbulence in Hungary, would add greatly to an understanding of the issue. A particular question needing further investigation is: What impact did the earliest reports and their ethnic associations have on the reporting of later finds by others who based their assumptions on those earliest reports as the 'prototype' for their own deductions of ethnic association with the Conquest-era Magyars or with the avoidance of making such associations? Such research could investigate the archaeologists of the post-Habsburg era in relation to the influences on their work of the Academy of Sciences and the National Museum, together with the role of the National Széchenyi Library as the country's foremost repository of manuscripts and codexes on the ancient past. Comparative research on other important institutions could shed further significant light on the matter. Such institutions include the Ethnographic Museum that houses much of the country's folkloric information, the Natural Sciences Museum and its collection of anthropological remains, and the Archaeological Institute as the premier tertiary research institute for present-day Hungarian archaeologists. Further archival research on the Habsburg Imperial Court, the Catholic Church and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, where such material survives, should also be conducted to investigate further clues presented by the material highlighted in this study. Such research could provide further enlightenment on the broader impact of those three institutions on archaeological research in Hungary in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, including with regard to funding priorities, the sponsorship of certain scholars, and preferences for particular research avenues and outcomes.

Closing Remarks

Today, depending upon whom you ask, the prehistory of the Magyar people is a composite of fact, theory and/or fantasy. It consists of what is considered as *known* with relative certainty, what is largely conjecture, although based on albeit at times tenuous evidence, and what is purely fanciful speculation. Judgment of the story of Magyar origins is often up to the observer's own skills, interests and, sometimes, prejudices. As with researchers elsewhere, scholars in Hungary make choices about what to study, what to report and how to interpret what they find,

within the confines of their institutional and governmental priorities and available funds. As Ucko (1990: xi) noted, nowhere is archaeological research immune to such restrictions; it is by its very nature a political undertaking.

From the perspective of ethnogenetic studies in general, the *closed subject* approach to the question of Magyar ethnogenesis that is evident in Hungary today, does not serve to advance science, as it encourages scholars to avoid innovative thinking and to confine their views to the accepted doctrine or avoid the topic altogether. If Hungarian archaeology is truly to become the field of science that scholars there crave, then the practice of avoidance of the *hard* issues needs to cease. While politics will always be a factor in any field where investigation can lead to uncomfortable conclusions, scholars must balance their need for political support to gain funding allocations with the need for better disclosure of the concrete conclusions they derive from their work. At times that will be very difficult, such as during the Nazi or Soviet eras in Hungary when dissent of any kind was seen as politically subversive and the consequences could be fatal. However, in the new democracy that Hungary now pursues, the work of the younger generation of scholars needs to be less constricted and encouraged to be more adventurous, both in the nature of the work and in its conclusions. Only with a more accurate understanding of and greater collective pride in the past of all its ethnic groups, can Hungarians become a fully integrated and united society.

Appendix 1

The Examination Process and Protocols of the Hungarian National Museum

The examination took place at a designated, wooden-topped table in the Researcher's Room on the third floor of the Museum building in Múzeum Körút [in English, Museum Boulevard], Budapest. Available equipment was rudimentary, but generally adequate for the task. A folded length of soft white fabric, which I supplied, was placed on the table to protect and highlight the artefacts. A hand-held magnifying glass, a fluorescent table lamp, a wooden 100-mm desk ruler and a plastic 180^{o} protractor were used to examine, measure and orient the artefacts, as other more sophisticated instrumentation was unavailable. Black carbon HB pencils were used to draw the artefacts onto A4 paper. (Measurements were recorded on these drawings.) Photographs were taken with a *Nikon* digital camera and a *Microsoft Excel* spreadsheet was used to record the information on an *ASUS X5DIJ Series Pentium* laptop computer with a Magyar language keyboard. White cotton gloves were worn for most of the process to avoid contaminating or discolouring the artefacts.

Strict access and handling controls were imposed by the Museum, in accordance with proper conservation practices. The artefacts were brought to the room by the Storage Master József Puskás, in boxes labelled with the respective site names (and grave numbers where relevant) and the catalogue numbers of the artefacts enclosed. The assemblages for most of the sites comprised several boxes per site. For each set of boxes, an entry was made in the Storage Master's ledger, noting the site name and catalogue numbers. The entry was then signed by me both on receipt of the boxes and on their return after the examination of each box was completed.

Each artefact was labelled with its catalogue number. In most cases, this number had been hand-painted onto the artefact using white paint, although in a few cases the number was on a card-paper label attached to the artefact by a string. As each artefact was removed from its box, I checked it against both the catalogue number and other documentation that described the item. The catalogue number for each artefact was recorded in the spreadsheet. Occasionally the catalogue number was too small or obscure to clearly read and some assumptions about the numbering of such items therefore were made. A few artefacts also were labelled with their composition (e.g. bronze or iron) or their assumed function (e.g. stirrup). Some artefacts were bagged in plastic pouches; while the smaller multiple items, such as dress mounts, were

generally in smaller boxes within the larger 'site' boxes. The larger objects or sturdier artefacts in the main were stored loosely within the larger 'site' boxes.

Using the original classificatory remarks by the early scholars as a roadmap (i.e. Specific Location, Material, Size, Shape, Colour, Decoration, Usage and Ethnic Attribution), current observations about the artefacts were made during the examination and these were noted against each of the artefacts in a column of the spreadsheet table labeled 'project'. The purpose of this 'project' column was to provide an update on the assemblages as they currently were comprised and, where appropriate, to provide a 'straw-man' additional perspective to the later comparative analysis of the early reporting in Chapter 5. A set of colour photographs was taken, and, in most cases, a drawing was also made, on which the artefacts' dimensions were noted, and other observed characteristics were highlighted. With the smaller artefacts, such as the dress mounts, these were collectively photographed by style and size and a sample item from each type was measured and illustrated. To avoid being influenced by the early scholars' descriptions of the artefacts, the spreadsheet contained no other information. (The early scholars' descriptions were added to the spreadsheet only on return to Australia, before the comparative analysis was commenced.) When examination of a site's artefacts was complete, or the day's research had ended, the artefacts were returned to their site boxes and the boxes were returned to the Storage Master, who placed them back into the storage racks and their return was signed off in the day-log. Where those items were required to be used again on another day, the same procedure would be repeated on that day.

In addition to the site boxes from the six assemblages, a request was made and granted for the sabre from the Bezdéd assemblage to be provided for examination. Normally housed in a special vault in another part of the Museum, it would only be available for a brief period on one day towards the end of the two weeks and only be made available for examination in the main storage room on the third floor, as that room was considered more secure than the Researcher's Room. This was agreed, and I relocated to the main storage room for that examination. The requested sabre arrived for examination wrapped in tissue paper and extra covering to minimise further damage to its already fragile state. Its presence was recorded in the day-log. The sabre was placed on the work bench under dim lighting by the Storage Master, who remained present throughout the examination. Only then could I handle the artefact. The sabre was carefully removed from its packaging, examined, measured, photographed and drawn, and then returned immediately to its packaging. These precautions were essential to preserve its remaining integrity. Upon completion of the examination, the day-log was noted, and the sabre was returned immediately to its vault.

Appendix 2

List of Hungarian Rulers c.850-1918

Pre-Kingdom Princes

Álmos	c.850–c.895
Árpád	c.895–c.907
Zoltán	907–c.947
Fajsz	947–c.955
Taksony	955–c.972
Géza	c.972–997
Vajk (István I)	997–1000

Magyar Kingdom

Árpádian Kings

István I	1000–1038
Péter	1038–1041
Sámuel	1041–1044
Péter (again)	1044–1046
András I	1046–1060
Béla I	1060–1063
Solomon	1063–1074
Géza I	1074–1077
László I	1077–1095
Kálmán	1095–1116
István II	1116–1131
Béla II	1131–1141
Géza II	1141–1162
István III	1162–1172
László II	1162–1163
István IV	1163–1165
Béla III	1172–1196
Imre	1196–1204
László III	1204–1205
András II	1205–1235
Béla IV	1235–1270
István V	1270–1272
László IV	1272–1290
András III	1290–1301

House of Přemysl

Wenceslaus	1301–1305

House of Wittelsbach

Otto	1305–1307

House of Anjou

Charles I	1308–1342
Louis I	1342–1382
Maria	1382–1385
Charles II	1385–1386
Maria	1386–1395

House of Luxembourg

Sigismund	1387–1437

House of Habsburg

Albert	1437–1439
Ladislaus V	1440–1457

List of Hungarian Rulers c.850-1918

(continued)

House of Jagiellon	
Vladislaus I	1440–1444
House of Hunyadi	
Mátyás I	1458–1490
House of Jagiellon (again)	
Vladislaus II	1490–1516
Louis II	1516–1526
House of Zápolya	
János	1526–1540
János Sigismund	1540–1570
House of Habsburg (again)	
Ferdinand I	1526–1564
Maximilian	1564–1576
Rudolph	1576–1608
Mátyás II	1608–1619
Ferdinand II	1619–1637
Ferdinand III	1637–1657
Ferdinand IV	1647–1654
Leopold I	1657–1705
Josef I	1705–1711
Karl III	1711–1740
Maria Theresa	1740–1780
House of Habsburg-Lorraine	
Josef II	1780–1790
Leopold II	1790–1792
Franz I	1792–1835
Ferdinand V	1835–1848
Franz Josef	1848–1916
Karl IV	1916–1918

(Information compiled from: Endrey, A. 1982: 374-376; Balázs, Gy. & K. Szelényi, 1989: 44-45)

Appendix 3

New Members to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the 1830s

(Information extracted from Glatz, 2003)

The details for each new member are, in order:
Surname, First Name (Lifespan) Occupations (Membership status, Year status commenced/changed to)
(NB: Hungarian names are usually written with the surname and first name not separated by a comma, however, for consistency I have placed a comma between the surname and first name in all cases.)

Palatine throughout the 1830s

Habsburg–Lotaringiai, József Antal János, Archduke (1776–1847) Palatine (patron 1825–1847)

Membership begun in the 1830s

1830

Andrássy, György (1797–1872) politician, economist (Director 1830; Honorary 1833)
Balásházy, János (1797–1857) agriculturalist (Full 1830)
Bartal, György, snr (1785–1865) law historian (Director 1830; Honorary 1858)
Batthyány-Strattmann, Fülöp (1781–1870) large landowner (Director 1830)
Berzsenyi, Dániel (1776–1836) poet, journalist (Full 1830)
Bitnitz, Lajos (1790–1871) Roman Catholic prelate, mathematician (Full 1830; Honorary 1847)
Bugat, Pál (1793–1865) doctor, linguist (Full 1830)
Cziráky, Antal Mózes (1772–1852) politician, jurist (Corresponding 1830)
Dessewffy, József (1771–1843) politician, journalist (Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Döbrentei, Gábor (1785–1851) writer, translator, journalist (Full 1830)
Felsőbüki Nagy, Pál (1777–1857) politician (Director 1830)
Gebhardt, Xavér Ferenc (1791–1869) doctor (Full 1830)
Guzmics, Izidor (1786–1839) publicist, theologian, Benedictine monk (Full 1830; Honorary 1838)
Horváth, József (1794–1849) doctor (Full 1830)
Illésházy, István (1762–1838) aristocrat, politician (Director 1830)
Imre, János (1790–1832) philosopher (Full 1830)
Károlyi, György (1802–1877) politician (Director 1830; Honorary 1832)
Kazinczy, Ferenc (1759–1831) writer, poet, translator (Full 1830)
Keglevich, Gábor (1784–1854) politician (Director 1830)
Kis, János (1770–1846) Evangelical vicar, priest, poet, translator (Full 1830)
Kisfaludy, Károly (1788–1830) playwright, poet (Full 1830)
Kisfaludy, Sándor (1772–1844) poet (Full 1830; Honorary 1835)
Kolossváry, Sándor (1775–1842) Roman Catholic prelate (Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Kornis, Mihály (1796–1835) journalist, politician (Director 1830)
Kölcsey, Ferenc (1790–1838) poet, politician (Full 1830)
Köteles, Sámuel (1770–1831) philosopher (Full 1830)
Mailáth, György, snr (1786–1861) politician, County judge (Director 1830)
Mednyánszky, Alajos (1784–1844) cultural politician, writer, historian (Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Pázmándi Horváth, Endre (1778–1839) poet, journalist (Full 1830)
Péchy, Imre (1753–1841) politician (Director 1830)
Petrovics, Frigyes Keresztély (1799–1836) historian, jurist (Full 1830)
Prónay, Sándor (1760–1839) politician, historian (Director 1830)
Reviczky, Ádám (1786–1862) politician (Director 1830)
Somssich, Pongrác (1788–1849) politician (Director 1830)
Széchenyi, István (1791–1860) large landowner, politician, economist (Director 1830; Honorary 1838)
Szegedy, Ferenc (1787–1848) politician (Director 1830)
Szepesy, Ignác (1780–1838) Roman Catholic prelate, theologian (Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Szilasy, János (1795–1859) teacher, philosopher (Full 1830; Honorary 1858)
Szlemenics, Pál (1783–1856) jurist (Full 1830)
Teleki, József (1790–1855) politician, historian, linguist (Director 1830; Honorary 1838)
Toldy, Ferenc (1805–1875) historiographer, critic (Full 1830; Director 1871)
Vághy, Ferenc (1776–1862) jurist (Director 1830)
Vay, Ábrahám (1789–1855) large landowner, politician (Director 1830)
Végh, István (1763–1834) politician (Director 1830)
Vörösmarty, Mihály (1800–1855) poet, playwright (Full 1830)

Wesselényi, Miklós (1796–1850) politician (Director 1830; Honorary 1831)

1831

Bajza, József (1804–1858) poet, journalist (Corresponding 1831; Full 1832)
Balogh, Pál (1794–1867) doctor (Corresponding 1831; Full 1835)
Bártfay, László (1797–1858) writer (Corresponding 1831)
Bene, Ferenc (1775–1858) doctor, physician (Honorary 1831)
Beszédes, József (1787–1852) hydraulics engineer (Corresponding 1831)
Budai, Ézsaiás (1766–1841) historian, classicist-philologist (Honorary 1831)
Deáki, Filep Sámuel (1784–1855) poet, translator (Corresponding 1831)
Dohovics, Vazul (1783–1849) philosopher (Corresponding 1831)
Döme, Károly (1768–1845) writer, translator (Honorary 1831)
Ercsei, Dániel (1781–1836) philosopher (Corresponding 1831)
Fáy, András (1786–1864) writer, politician (Honorary 1831; Director 1845)
Fessler, Ignác Aurél (1756–1839) Russian Hungarian historian (External 1831)
Forgó, György (1787–1835) doctor (Corresponding 1831)
Gévay, Antal (1797–1845) historian, Orientalist (Corresponding 1831)
Görög, Demeter (1760–1833) editor, cartographer (Honorary 1831)
Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von (1774–1856) Austrian Orientalist, historian (Honorary 1831)
Jankowich, Miklós (1772–1846) antiquarian and artefact collector, historian (Honorary 1831)
Kiss, Károly (1793–1866) war-historian, poet, writer, military officer (Corresponding 1831; Full 1840)
Kresznerics, Ferenc (1766–1832) linguist (Honorary 1831)
Márton, József (1771–1840) linguist, editor (Corresponding 1831)
Nyiry, István (1776–1838) scientist, mathematician (Corresponding 1831; Full 1832)
Perger, János (1791–1838) jurist, historian (Corresponding 1831; Full 1832)
Ragályi, Tamás (1785–1849) politician (Honorary 1831)
Schedius, Lajos (1768–1847) linguist, aesthete (Honorary 1831; Director 1845)
Schuster, János (1777–1838) doctor, pharmacologist (Full 1831)
Szalay, Imre (1787–1848) theologian (Corresponding 1831; Full 1832; Honorary 1834)
Szeder, Fábián János (1784–1859) ethnographer, dialectologist (Corresponding 1831–1838, renounced membership)
Szemere, Pál (1785–1861) poet, aesthete (Full 1831)
Szenvey, József (1800–1857) journalist, editor (Corresponding 1831)
Thaisz, András (1789–1840) editor (Corresponding 1831)
Zádor, György (1799–1866) jurist (Corresponding 1831; Full 1832)

1832

Angyalffy, Mátyás András (1776–1839) agriculturalist (Corresponding 1832)
Baritz, György (1779–1840) officer of the Engineers Corps (Corresponding 1832)
Benyovszky, Zsigmond (1799–1873) journalist (Corresponding 1832)
Berzeviczy, Vince (1781–1834) film director (Honorary 1832)
Bolyai, Farkas (1775–1856) mathematician (Corresponding 1832)
Bowring, John (1792–1872) English economist, linguist (Honorary 1832)
Buczy, Emil (1782–1839) poet, aesthete (Corresponding 1832)
Czech, János (1798–1854) historian, archivist (Corresponding 1832; Full 1832)
Csató, Pál (1804–1841) writer, journalist (Corresponding 1832)
Császár, Ferenc (1807–1858) poet, journalist, jurist (Corresponding 1832; Honorary 1847)
Cserna, János (1795–1890) agriculturalist, surveyor (Corresponding 1832)
Csorba, József (1789–1858) doctor, physicist (Corresponding 1832)
Deáky, Zsigmond (1795–1872) poet, linguist (Corresponding 1832; Honorary 1858)
Érdy, János (1796–1871) historian, archaeologist, numismatist (Corresponding 1832; Full 1832)
Fábián, Gábor (1795–1877) writer, translator (Corresponding 1832; Full 1835)
Fabriczy, Sámuel (1771–1858) jurist (Corresponding 1832)
Ferenczy, István (1792–1856) sculptor (Corresponding 1832)
Férussac, André Étienne d'Audebert de (1786–1836) French zoologist (Honorary 1832)
Gelei, József (1754–1838) writer, translator (Corresponding 1832)
Georch, Illés (1772–1835) jurist (Honorary 1832)
Győry, Sándor (1795–1870) construction engineer, mathematician (Corresponding 1832; Full 1832)
Gyurikovits, György (1780–1848) law historian (Corresponding 1832)
Hegedüs, Sámuel (1781–1844) theologian (Corresponding 1832)
Hoblik, Márton (1791–1845) playwright, lawyer (Corresponding 1832)
Hoffner, József (1794–1841) veterinarian (Corresponding 1832)
Horváth, János (1769–1835) Roman Catholic prelate, theologian (Honorary 1832)
Kállay, Ferenc (1790–1861) cultural historian, language historian (Corresponding 1832; Full 1832)
Karácson, Mihály (1796–1869) teacher, cultural politician (Corresponding 1832)

Kassai, József (1767–1842) linguist, lexicographer (Corresponding 1832)
Kováts, Mihály (1762–1851) doctor (Corresponding 1832)
Lakos, János (1776–1843) war historian, military officer(Honorary 1832)
Mezzofanti, Giuseppe Caspar (1774–1849) Italian Roman Catholic prelate, linguist (Honorary 1832)
Nagy, Károly (1797–1868) astronomer, mathematician (Corresponding 1832; Full 1836)
Péczely, József (1789–1849) historian, teacher (Corresponding 1832; Full 1837)
Pólya, József (1802–1873) doctor, pomologist (Corresponding 1832; Full 1858)
Sárváry, Pál (1765–1846) philosopher, mathematician (Corresponding 1832)
Simai, Kristóf (1742–1833) playwright, linguist (Corresponding 1832)
Szontagh, Gusztáv (1793–1858) philosopher, aesthete (Corresponding 1832; Full 1839)
Sztrokay, Antal (1780–1850) jurist, poet (Corresponding 1832; Full 1835)
Tessedik, Ferenc (1800–1844) geographer, writer (Corresponding 1832)
Tunyogi, Csapó József (1790–1865) jurist (Corresponding 1832)
Vass, László (1780–1842) Church historian, philosopher (Honorary 1832)
Waltherr, László Imre (1788–1863) historian, linguist (Corresponding 1832)
Zách, János Ferenc / Zach, Franz Xaver von (1754–1832) German Hungarian astronomer, surveyor (External 1832)

1833

Antal, Mihály (1792–1850) linguist (Corresponding 1833)
Babbage, Charles (1791–1871) English mathematician, mechanical engineer, philosopher (Honorary 1833)
Beudant, François Sulpice (1787–1850) French mineralogist, geologist (Honorary 1833)
Bright, Richard (1789–1858) English doctor, traveller (Honorary 1833)
Dessewffy, Aurél (1808–1842) journalist, politician (Corresponding 1833)
DuPonceau, Peter Stephen (1760–1844) American French linguist, philosopher, jurist (Honorary 1833)
Egyed, Antal (1779–1862) poet, translator (Corresponding 1833)
Frivaldszky, Imre (1799–1870) zoologist, botanist (Corresponding 1833; Full 1838)
Horváth, József Elek (1784–1835) poet, playwright (Corresponding 1833)
Jakab, István (1798–1876) playwright, journalist, composer (Corresponding 1833)
Klauzál, Imre (1799–1847) agriculturalist (Corresponding 1833)
Kovács, Pál (1808–1886) doctor, writer, playwright (Corresponding 1833; Full 1839; Renounced membership 1839)
Kőrösi Csoma, Sándor (1784–1842) linguist, Orientalist, traveller (Corresponding 1833)
Kriebel, Johann (?–1853) Galician historian (External 1833)
Lassu, István (1797–1852) statistician, geographer (Corresponding 1833)
Mátray, Gábor (1797–1875) music-historian, composer (Corresponding 1833)
Nagy, János (1809–1885) linguist, theologian (Corresponding 1833; Full 1838; Honorary 1876)
Pertz, Georg Heinrich (1795–1876) German historian (Honorary 1833)
Szász, Károly (1798–1853) jurist, politician (Corresponding 1833; Full 1834)
Szilágyi, Ferenc (1797–1876) historian (Corresponding 1833)
Tasner, Antal (1808–1861) lawyer (Corresponding 1833)
Zsivora, György (1804–1883) jurist (Corresponding 1833)

1834

Árvay, Gergely (1790–1871) writer, translator (Corresponding 1834)
Bölöni Farkas, Sándor (1795–1842) traveller, journalist (Corresponding 1834)
Fillinger, Lipót (1787–1844) theologian (Corresponding 1834)
Horváth, Cirill József (1804–1884) philosopher (Corresponding 1834; Full 1836; Honorary 1865)
Humboldt, Wilhelm von (1767–1835) German linguist, politician (Honorary 1834)
Klaproth, Heinrich Julius (1783–1835) German linguist, philologist, Orientalist (External 1834)
Magda, Pál (1770–1841) statistician (Corresponding 1834)
Palacký, František (1798–1876) Czech historian, politician (Honorary 1834)
Péterfi, Károly (1790–1873) philosopher, aesthete (Corresponding 1834)
Podhradczky, József (1795–1870) historian (Corresponding 1834; Full 1858)
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph (1775–1854) German philosopher (Honorary 1834)
Somosi, János (1783–1855) theologian (Corresponding 1834)

1835

Edvi Illés, Pál (1793–1871) theologian (Corresponding 1835)
Eötvös, József (1813–1871) writer, politician (Corresponding 1835; Honorary 1839; Director 1855)
Fülepp, József (1786–1847) jurist (Corresponding 1835)
Gegő, Elek (1805–1844) historian, ethnographer (Corresponding 1835)
Gombos, Imre (1791–1840) playwright (Honorary 1835)
Gorove, László (1780–1839) writer (Corresponding 1835)
Jósika, Miklós (1794–1865) writer, journalist (Corresponding 1835; Director 1836; Honorary 1843)
Perényi, Zsigmond (1783–1849) politician (Director 1835)
Schöpf-Merei, Ágost (1804–1858) doctor, paediatrician(Corresponding 1835)
Vásárhelyi, Pál (1795–1846) hydraulics engineer (Corresponding 1835; Full 1838)

Warga, János (1804–1875) teacher, philosopher (Corresponding 1835)

1836

Barabás, Miklós (1810–1898) painter, graphic artist (Corresponding 1836)
Bárány, Ágoston (1798–1849) archivist, historian (Corresponding 1836)
Bresztyenszky, Adalbert (1786–1850) mathematician (Corresponding 1836)
Czuczor, Gergely (1800–1866) linguist, poet (Corresponding 1831; Full 1836)
Gáthy, István (1780–1859) surveyor, hydraulics engineer (Corresponding 1836)
Hetényi, János (1786–1853) Calvinist vicar, philosopher (Corresponding 1836; Full 1840)
Méhes, Sámuel (1785–1852) editor (Corresponding 1836)
Szalay, László (1813–1864) jurist, historian, politician (Corresponding 1836; Full 1838)
Székács, József (1809–1876) Evangelist vicar, poet (Corresponding 1836; Honorary 1870)
Teleki, Domokos (1810–1876) politician, historian (Corresponding 1836; Director 1855; Honorary 1861)
Teleki, László (1811–1861) politician, writer (Corresponding 1836; Full 1838; Honorary 1844)
Tóth, Lőrinc (1814–1903) jurist, writer, poet (Corresponding 1836; Full 1858)

1837

Brassai, Sámuel (1797–1897) scientist, linguist, philosopher (Corresponding 1837; Full 1865; Honorary 1887)
Fényes, Elek (1807–1876) statistician, economist, politician (Corresponding 1837; Full 1858; Corresponding requalified 1867)
Gaal, József (1811–1866) poet, writer, playwright (Corresponding 1837)
Jerney, János (1800–1855) historian, language historian, traveller (Corresponding 1837; Full 1838)
Kacskovics, Lajos (1806–1891) politician, journalist (Corresponding 1837)
Kerekes, Ferenc (1784–1850) mathematician, chemist (Corresponding 1837)
Tanárky, Sándor (1784–1839) military officer, war historian (Corresponding 1837; Full 1838)
Vajda, Péter (1808–1846) poet, editor, journalist (Corresponding 1837)
Vállas, Antal (1809–1869) American Hungarian mathematician (Corresponding 1837; Full 1837; External 1858)
Zsoldos, Ignác (1803–1885) jurist (Corresponding 1837; Full 1838)

1838

Csáky, Károly (1783–1846) big landowner, Lord Lieutenant (Director 1838)
Flór, Ferenc (1809–1871) doctor, surgeon (Corresponding 1838)
Fogarasi, János (1801–1878) linguist, jurist (Corresponding 1838; Full 1841)
Herepei, Károly (1802–1871) Church historian (Corresponding 1838)
Horváth, Zsigmond (1782–1845) writer, translator (Corresponding 1838)
Kossovich, Károly (1803–1841) jurist (Full 1838)
Nádasdy, Ferenc (1785–1851) Roman Catholic prelate (Director 1838)
Pulszky, Ferenc (1814–1897) archaeologist, art-historian, politician (Corresponding 1838; Full 1840; Honorary 1841; Director 1873)
Szenczy, Imre (1798–1860) classicist-philologist, translator (Corresponding 1838)
Tarczy, Lajos (1807–1887) philosopher, scientist (Corresponding 1838; Full 1840)
Viola, József (1770–1858) doctor (Corresponding 1838)

1839

Balla, Károly (1792–1873) jurist, poet, journalist (Corresponding 1839)
Beély, Fidél József (1807–1863) teacher, aesthete (Corresponding 1839)
Bertha, Sándor (1796–1877) lawyer, economics politician (Corresponding 1839)
Csatskó, Imre (1804–1874) jurist (Corresponding 1839)
Deák, Ferenc (1803–1876) politician, jurist (Honorary 1839; Director 1855)
Erdélyi, János (1814–1868) poet, aesthete, philosopher (Corresponding 1839; Full 1858)
Garay, János (1812–1853) poet, writer (Corresponding 1839)
Horváth, Mihály (1809–1878) historian, cultural politician, Roman Catholic prelate (Corresponding 1839; Full 1841; Director 1871)
Kiss, Bálint (1772–1853) historian, Calvinist vicar (Corresponding 1839)
Kiss, Ferenc (1791–1859) archaeologist, numismatist (Corresponding 1839)
Lukács, Móric (1812–1881) journalist, translator, politician (Corresponding 1839; Honorary 1858; Director 1876)
Stáhly, Ignác (1787–1849) doctor, surgeon (Honorary 1839)
Szabó, István (1801–1892) translator (Corresponding 1839)
Vecsei, József (1800–1855) philosopher (Corresponding 1839)

Appendix 4

Members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences 1830-1900 Registered as Politicians

(as per Glatz, 2003)

Membership begun in 1830s

Andrássy, György (1797–1872)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1833)
Bertha, Sándor (1796–1877)	(Corresponding 1839)
Cziráky, Antal Mózes (1772–1852)	(Corresponding 1830)
Deák, Ferencz (1803–1876)	(Honorary 1839; Director 1855)
Dessewffy, Aurél (1808–1842)	(Corresponding 1833)
Dessewffy, József (1771–1843)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Eötvös, József (1813–1871)	(Corresponding 1835; Honorary 1839; Director 1855)
Fáy, András (1786–1864)	(Honorary 1831; Director 1845)
Felsőbüki Nagy, Pál (1777–1857)	(Director 1830)
Fényes, Elek (1807–1876)	(Corresponding 1837; Full 1858; Corresponding again 1867)
Horváth, Mihály (1809–1878)	(Corresponding 1839; Full 1841; Director 1871)
Humboldt, Wilhelm von (1767–1835)	(Honorary 1834) - German
Illésházy, István (1762–1838)	(Director 1830)
Kacskovics, Lajos (1806–1891)	(Corresponding 1837)
Karácson, Mihály (1796–1869)	(Corresponding 1832)
Károlyi, György (1802–1877)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1832)
Keglevich, Gábor (1784–1854)	(Director 1830)
Kornis, Mihály (1796–1835)	(Director 1830)
Kölcsey, Ferenc (1790–1838)	(Full 1830)
Lukács, Móric (1812–1881)	(Corresponding 1839; Honorary 1858; Director 1876)
Mailáth, György, Snr. (1786–1861)	(Director 1830)
Mednyánszky, Alajos (1784–1844)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1831)
Palacký, František (1798–1876)	(Honorary 1834)
Péchy, Imre (1753–1841)	(Director 1830)
Perényi, Zsigmond (1783–1849)	(Director 1835)
Prónay, Sándor (1760–1839)	(Director 1830)
Pulszky, Ferencz (1814–1897)	(Corresponding 1838; Full 1840; Honorary 1841; Director 1873)
Ragályi, Tamás (1785–1849)	(Honorary 1831)
Reviczky, Ádám (1786–1862)	(Director 1830)
Somssich, Pongrác (1788–1849)	(Director 1830)
Szalay, László (1813–1864)	(Corresponding 1836; Full 1838)
Szász, Károly (1798–1853)	(Corresponding 1833; Full 1834)
Széchenyi, István (1791–1860)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1838)
Szegedy, Ferenc (1787–1848)	(Director 1830)
Teleki, Domokos (1810–1876)	(Corresponding 1836; Director 1855; Honorary 1861)
Teleki, József (1790–1855)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1838)
Teleki, László (1811–1861)	(Corresponding 1836; Full 1838; Honorary 1844)
Vay, Ábrahám (1789–1855)	(Director 1830)
Végh, István (1763–1834)	(Director 1830)
Wesselényi, Miklós (1796–1850)	(Director 1830; Honorary 1831)

Membership begun in 1840s

Csengery, Antal (1822–1880)	(Corresponding 1847; Full 1858; Director 1870)
Gorove, István (1819–1881)	(Corresponding 1843; Honorary 1867)
Kemény, József (1795–1855)	(Corresponding 1831; Honorary 1844)
Kemény, Zsigmond (1814–1875)	(Corresponding 1843; Honorary 1847; Director 1868)
Kubinyi, Ágoston (1799–1873)	(Honorary 1843; Director 1853)
Kubinyi, Ferenc (1796–1874)	(Corresponding 1841; Honorary 1858)
Mészáros, Lázár (1796–1858)	(Corresponding 1844)
Pauler, Tivadar (1816–1886)	(Corresponding 1845; Full 1858; Director 1876; Honorary 1885)
Szemere, Bertalan (1812–1869)	(Corresponding 1840)

Szőllősy, Ferenc (1796–1854)	(Corresponding 1847)
Trefort, Ágoston (1817–1888)	(Corresponding 1841; Honorary 1867; Director 1874)
Ürményi, Ferenc (1780–1858)	(Director 1845)
Vay, Miklós Baron (1802–1894)	(Director 1841–1855, resigned; Director 1860)

Membership begun in 1850s

Andrássy, Manó (1821–1891)	(Corresponding 1858)
Apponyi, György (1808–1899)	(Director 1858)
Cziráky, János (1818–1884)	(Director 1853)
Dessewffy, Emil (1814–1866)	(Corresponding 1843; Director 1853; Honorary 1858)
Esterházy, Pál Antal (1786–1866)	(Director 1853)
Guizot, François (1787–1874)	(Honorary 1858) - French
Károlyi, István (1797–1881)	(Director 1853)
Kazinczy, Gábor (1818–1864)	(Corresponding 1858)
Kerkapoly, Károly (1824–1891)	(Corresponding 1859)
Korizmics, László (1816–1886)	(Honorary 1858)
Lónyay, Menyhért (1822–1884)	(Corresponding 1858; Honorary 1861; Director 1866)
Macaulay, Thomas Babington (1800–1859)	(Honorary 1858) - English
Mikó, Imre (1805–1876)	(Honorary 1858; Director 1865)
Montalembert, Charles de (1810–1870)	(Honorary 1858) - French
Podmaniczky, Frigyes (1824–1907)	(Corresponding 1859)
Sennyey, Pál (1824–1888)	(Director 1853)
Szögyény,-Marich László, Snr. (1806–1893)	(Director 1855)
Welcker, Karl Theodor (1790–1869)	(Honorary 1859) - German

Membership begun in 1860s

Falk, Miksa (1828–1908)	(Corresponding 1861)
Festetics, György (1815–1883)	(Director 1866)
Horvát, Boldizsár (1822–1898)	(Corresponding 1861; Honorary 1868)
Joannovics, György (1821–1909)	(Corresponding 1867; Honorary 1881)
Kemény, Gábor (1830–1888)	(Corresponding 1864; Honorary 1886)
Kukuljević, Sakcinski, Ivan (1816–1889)	(Corresponding 1860)
Mailáth, György, Jnr. (1818–1883)	(Director 1863; Honorary 1880)
Marczibányi, Antal (1793–1872)	(Director 1863)
Markusovszky, Lajos (1815–1893)	(Corresponding 1863; Honorary 1890)
Molnár, Aladár (1839–1881)	(Corresponding 1867)
Ormós, Zsigmond (1813–1894)	(Corresponding 1861)
Schvarcz, Gyula (1838–1900)	(Corresponding 1864; Full 1887)
Szécsen, Antal (1819–1896)	(Director 1866; Honorary 1877–1894, resigned)
Szemere, Miklós (1802–1881)	(Corresponding 1863)
Tanárky, Gedeon (1815–1887)	(Corresponding 1867)
Thiers, Adolphe (1797–1877)	(Honorary 1864) - French
Urházy, György (1823–1873)	(Corresponding 1861)

Membership begun in 1870s

Andrássy, Gyula, Snr. (1823–1890)	(Director 1876; Honorary 1888)
Eötvös, Loránd (1848–1919)	(Corresponding 1873; Full 1883; Director 1906)
Erdődy, Sándor Lajos (1802–1881)	(Director 1877)
Fabritius, Karl (1826–1881)	(Corresponding 1872)
Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898)	(Honorary 1873) - British
György, Endre (1848–1927)	(Corresponding 1879; Full 1919)
Habsburg–Lotaringiai, Rudolf Archduke (1858–1889)	(Honorary 1878)
Kállay, Béni (1839–1903)	(Corresponding 1878; Full 1888; Honorary 1890)
Parieu, Félix Esquirou de (1815–1893)	(Honorary 1876) - French
Radvánszky, Béla (1849–1906)	(Corresponding 1879; Honorary 1887; Director 1891)
Rudics, József (1792–1879)	(Honorary 1873)
Zichy, Antal (1823–1898)	(Corresponding 1870; Honorary 1877; Director 1883)
Zsilinszky, Mihály (1838–1925)	(Corresponding 1878; Full 1899)

Membership begun in 1880s

Berthelot, Marcellin (1827–1907)	(Honorary 1882) - French
Dessewffy, Aurél (1846–1928)	(Director 1883)
Grünwald, Béla (1839–1891)	(Corresponding 1888)
Habsburg–Lotaringiai, József Károly Archduke (1833–1905)	(Director 1881; Honorary 1888)
Hegedüs, Sándor (1847–1906)	(Corresponding 1885; Full 1893)
Károlyi, Sándor (1831–1906)	(Director 1881)
Láng, Lajos (1849–1918)	(Corresponding 1883; Full 1892)
Pálffi, Albert (1820–1897)	(Corresponding 1884)
Plósz, Sándor (1846–1925)	(Corresponding 1884; Full 1894; Honorary 1902; Director 1906)
Szlávy, József (1818–1900)	(Director 1884)
Tisza, Kálmán (1830–1902)	(Director 1881; Honorary 1888)

Membership begun in 1890s

Andrássy, Gyula, Jnr. (1860–1929)	(Corresponding 1898; Full 1904; Director 1913)
Andrássy, Tivadar (1857–1905)	(Director 1894)
Apáthy, István, Jnr. (1863–1922)	(Corresponding 1898)
Apponyi, Albert (1846–1933)	(Honorary 1898; Director 1908
Asbóth, János (1845–1911)	(Corresponding 1892)
Csáky, Albin (1841–1912)	(Director 1891)
Gaál, Jenő (1846–1934)	(Corresponding 1896; Full 1908; Director 1931)
Ilosvay, Lajos (1851–1936)	(Corresponding 1891; Full 1905; Director 1919; Honorary 1928)
Kovács, Ferenc (1823–1895)	(Honorary 1895)
Pessina, Enrico (1828–1916)	(Honorary 1899) - Italian
Rákosi, Jenő (1842–1929)	(Corresponding 1892; Honorary 1909; Director 1919)
Setälä, Eemil Nestor (1864–1935)	(Honorary 1892) - Finnish
Szathmáry, György (1845–1898)	(Corresponding 1895)
Szilágyi, Dezső (1840–1901)	(Honorary 1897)
Teleki, Géza (1843–1913)	(Director 1899)
Wlassics, Gyula (1852–1937)	(Corresponding 1886; Full 1892; Director 1901; Honorary 1919)
Zichy, Jenő (1837–1906)	(Honorary 1899)
Žujović, Jovan (1856–1936)	(Honorary 1894) - Serbian

Appendix 5

Observations on the Artefacts at the Hungarian National Museum, May/June 2011

Benepuszta

Studs

Examination of the artefacts revealed only 39 artefacts, each measuring 13mm in diameter, and three small fragments. Noting these three fragments most probably were the remains of three of the original 42 artefacts that had deteriorated in the Museum's store since publication of the 1996 catalogue by Fodor, 1996, the examination concurred with most elements of the descriptions by Fettich and Révész. However, while Fettich referred to these artefacts as 'buttons' and Révész as 'mounts for a caftan', the presence of the rivets suggested they had been hammered into leather, like the smaller mounts described earlier, rather than sewn onto fabric. This further suggested that these artefacts should more accurately be referred to as 'studs' and that they more likely would have been placed on either a leather belt, an animal hide garment, or a horse's harness strappings, rather than on a caftan or other such softer clothing

Coins

At examination, only one complete coin, six near-complete ones, and three small fragments remained in the assemblage. The seven complete or near-complete coins were made of thinly-cast silver, each with either two punctured holes, one at either side, or were missing a section where a hole would have been. The three fragments were too small to make any further statement about them. Lacking the numismatic expertise to properly identify these coins and fragments myself, I attempted to take photographs to enable their later identification by experts. However, the fractured afternoon sunlight reflecting off the silver at the time of viewing the coins in the main examination room, prevented the production of useful images of the coins, and no later opportunity arose during the truncated fieldwork to remedy the situation. Therefore, I am forced to restrict my commentary on the coins to the reporting of the earlier scholars and those brief observations I have already noted.

Stirrups

At examination, differences between the stirrups were observed. Notable here, however, was that, due to the heavily corroded state of the stirrups and without the benefit of chemical

analysis of the metal and rust particles in the stirrups, I was unable to deduce any evidence that would suggest a place of manufacture and lend weight to a possible ethnic association.

Vereb

Arrowheads

Only four arrowheads were observed among the examined assemblage, all composed of iron and heavily corroded. The fate of the other two could not be ascertained, although they may have completely corroded away over time in the Museum's stores. All the observed arrowheads were shaped like long leaves. One was 68mm long and 20mm across at its widest point. At its upper part, this arrowhead was 1mm thick, with that thickness progressively increasing along its length to 4mm, before tapering again sharply to its lowest point. It also had a small, 1mm wide puncture hole, commencing 17mm from its peak.

A second arrowhead was shorter, only 60mm long and 19mm at its widest point. Like the first one, it was 1mm thick at its upper part, progressively increasing to 3mm at its lower part. The shaft end appeared to have been flattened.

The length of a third arrowhead was between these two, measuring 64mm. It was noticeably narrower, measuring only 10mm at its widest point. However, its thickness varied only slightly between 2mm and 3mm along its length. At its upper end, it was round and bent at an 85^{o} angle. This arrowhead had a distinct, seemingly deliberately incised line at an angle 12mm above the tail end of its shaft on one side. On its reverse side, a scratched line was evident near its upper end at the point where the arrowhead was thinnest. Unlike the deliberately incised line, this scratched line may have been a fault that occurred during manufacture, as it appeared too pronounced to have occurred later when the forged metal had cooled.

The fourth arrowhead was the smallest, at only 58mm long and 9mm at its widest point. Its thickness increased progressively along its length from 3mm to 4mm. The shaft was flattened and approximately 2mm thick, and its point had broken off. Due to the heavy corrosion, it was not possible to determine if the breakage occurred during the usage or was the result of retrieval from the gravepit.

Stirrups

At my examination, I observed that one stirrup had a total length of 148mm, longer than Mesterházy claimed. The outer diameter of the ring of that stirrup at its widest point was 130mm, while the diameter of the inner part was 110mm. At the top of that stirrup, a hole to

insert the connector strap was 17mm wide and 8mm tall. The section of the stirrup above this hole was 18mm deep. The entire strap attaching end was 28mm wide and 3mm thick. The soleplate was flattened to 30mm wide, with the flattened part extending 120mm and tapering inwards towards both upward arms. The edges of the soleplate curved downwards, with a ridge running along its middle, and it was 2mm thick.

The second stirrup was 143mm long, agreeing with Mesterházy. At its widest point, the outer diameter at the widest point measured 125mm, while the inner diameter was 110mm. The strap hole was smaller than on the other stirrup, at 15mm wide and 7mm high. The section above the strap hole was the same as the first stirrup, also measuring 18mm. The entire strap attaching end was slightly narrower than the first stirrup, measuring only 26mm. As with the first stirrup, the thickness of the soleplate was 2mm and it was flattened to 30mm wide at its widest point, tapering inwards towards the 'arms'. The edges of this soleplate also curved downwards, had a central ridge and were 2mm thick. However, this soleplate was longer than on the first stirrup, measuring 125mm.

The difference in the two stirrups may have occurred due to imprecision during their manual manufacturing in the one forge, or one stirrup may have been a later replacement and was not able to be matched exactly to the earlier one it replaced. A further possibility was that the difference in dimensions was necessary to accommodate a difference in the size or shape of the deceased's feet. While the first two options remain distinct possibilities, the third possibility could not be explored as the bones of the feet were not retrieved from the gravepit. Due to their heavily corroded state and without the benefit of chemical analysis of the metal and rust particles in the stirrups, I could deduce no evidence suggestive of a place of manufacture or that might lend weight to a possible ethnic association

Bit and Iron Ring

The examined Vereb assemblage in the Museum contains both the jointed bit and the iron ring. Although both artefacts shared the one inventory number, they were clearly two separate pieces and readily identifiable as such.

The examination of the bit showed the two rings differed in size. The smaller ring was 66mm in outer diameter, while its inner diameter was 54mm. It was also flattened slightly. The width of the ring across its flattened edge was generally about 4mm, although corrosion had varied this measurement in parts. The long connector rod joined to this ring measured 88mm along its straight central section, giving this half of the bit when fully extended a total length of 127mm.

On the other hand, the outer diameter of the larger ring measured 69mm, while its inner diameter was 56mm. Like the smaller ring, it too was slightly flattened to a thickness of 8mm. The connector rod to which it was attached measured 83mm, giving this half of the bit a total length of 140mm, decidedly longer than the other half. The design of the bit could be clearly seen, with each ring originally having been able to move reasonably freely in the loop of its connector rod, while the two connector rods would also have been able to move.

The iron ring, like the bit rings, was flattened in part, giving it a slightly ovoid shape. At its widest point, this ring measured 40mm in diameter to its outer edges, while its inner diameter was only 30mm. The purpose of this ring could not be determined, although its iron composition suggests that it had an utilitarian, rather than decorative, function.

Buckles

While Érdy had originally reported three buckles in the Vereb assemblage, only one (Item 8 in his list) was among the examined assemblage (HNM Inventory: 21/1853.9). Agreeing with Hampel and Mesterházy, I saw this artefact as composed of cast bronze, not silver, noting its light reddish colouring. The trapezoidal buckle plate and oval ring described by Mesterházy were clearly visible. The width of the heavily ovoid-shaped ring was 13mm at its centre and 20mm in height, if laid on edge. The buckle 'tongue' was 11mm long and its tip rested in a shallow depression on the ring. The buckle was attached to the plate by loops over a rod that together formed the swinging hinge. The buckle plate was 2mm thick at its hinged end, reducing progressively to 1mm at the opposite pointed end. The reverse side of the plate bore four rivets, one at each corner. Of these rivets, two were complete and two were partials only. The incised decoration to which Mesterházy had referred was clearly in evidence on the obverse of the plate, while the reverse side was smooth. While Mesterházy had described the decoration only as a geometric design, it could be construed as depicting a stylised fish, plant, or bird with an open beak, depending on the direction from which it was viewed.

Strap End

On examination, the composition of this Vereb assemblage artefact appeared to be cast bronze. Its general shape was an elongated rectangle, tapering sharply to a point at one end. It measured 64mm long and 13mm wide, making it slightly longer and narrower than Mesterházy had recorded, and significantly longer and narrower than the buckle plate to which he had attached it, the combination of which made the possibility of these two artefacts belonging to the one belt set less likely.

An incised pattern was observed on the obverse side of the strap-end plate, which differed significantly from the buckle plate. The design of this strap-end plate comprised a long open field bordered by parallel lines which crossed approximately two-thirds of the way along its length. From that point the pattern formed into two elongated 'head' figures, suggestive of two birds facing each other, with an elongated 'V'- or 'heart'- shape separating them. Above the 'birds' was an incised border, with an incised dot at the central 'upper' point of the plate. At the other end of the plate, in the far end of the elongated field, there were three small embossed imprints: a small diamond shape; an imprint that resembled an 'M' although with a joined bottom; and a further larger diamond shape at the pointed end of the plate. The larger diamond shape was flanked by two raised dots. The total image at that end of the strap-end plate suggested some sort of signature or identifier, perhaps a maker's mark. The design of the entire plate appeared to have been executed with more precision and detail than the design on the buckle plate. Taking into consideration the motif differences, in addition to the dimensional variations mentioned earlier, Mesterházy's contention that this artefact, the buckle plate and the mounts (described later) were all part of the one belt set, appeared even less certain. Rather, the smaller width, longer length and more precision in motif execution of this plate suggested that this artefact had been attached to a narrower leather strap than the buckle plate.

In addition to the dimensional and motif features, the reverse side of the strap-end plate had four 'rivets', rather than nails: two at one end; one in the middle; and one at the pointed end. All these rivets appeared relatively intact. On examination of this artefact, a tiny fragment of sturdy material or leather in white or cream colouring was found attached to one of the two rivets at the rectangular end of the plate. Testing of the fragment was not permitted, so I could not further determine its composition. However, the tight placement of this fragment between the head of the rivet and the plate itself, together with its jagged (perhaps torn) edges, suggested that it was a piece of the fabric to which the strap end was originally attached. The presence of this fragment on the narrow strap-end plate lent support to the possibility that this plate was attached to a narrower belt or to another object requiring a strap attachment, such as a strap that might be needed to hang a quiver over the shoulder. The arrowheads in the assemblage suggested that a quiver may have been among the original gravegoods when the burial was created. While no remnant of a quiver was among the gravegoods when found, if it had been made of leather or another strong fabric, as suggested by the fragment attached to the rivet, such an artefact may well have disintegrated in the ground sometime before the grave was found.

Pentagonal Mount with Ring

Examination of this Vereb artefact showed it to be made of gilded bronze and comprising a pentagonal-shaped tile, with a circular ring hanging from it, connected to the tile by a small loop. The total length from the tip of the pentagon to the outer bottom rim of the ring was 40mm. The pentagonal tile was wider than its length, measuring 18mm deep and 20mm wide and had three rivets on the reverse side. Compared to the other mounts in the assemblage, as noted further in this section, it was relatively thick at 1.5 mm.

On the obverse side of the tile, a raised floral motif was clearly visible comprising three main leaves sprayed outwards. Either side of the largest upright leaf were two other foliate embossings attached by seeming stalks to the point where the three main leaves joined to form a bunch. On one side of the motif was a raised image comprising three round 'bubble' shapes suggestive of a shamrock, while on the other side a 'heart-shaped' image could be seen. The whole motif appeared to be surrounded by a thick raised border with a node at each point of the pentagon. The entire motif measured 16mm across.

The ring suspended from the tile had an outer diameter of 23mm and an inner one of 14mm. Its reverse side was flattened completely and undecorated. The bronze metal was 3.5mm thick and the loop connecting it to the tile was 4mm long. On the front of the ring, two long incisions ran around from almost the 'top' of the ring to its lower arc. Between the ends was a motif comprised of three small incised triangles. Two faced each other, while the third lay in the middle of the group with one point rising vertically. While the meaning of this motif could only be speculated, I felt its simplicity and location lent weight to the possibility of it being either a 'maker's mark' or an indicator of the ownership of the artefact.

Small Pendant Strap Mounts

On examination, these very small mounts appeared to be composed of silver, with gilding. Each mount was 10mm long and 7mm across at the widest point. The shape also was quite different to other mounts in the assemblage, forming a 'grape-bunch-like' shape, rather than the more rounded foliate shapes of the larger mounts. In the centre of each mount was a motif comprising a 8-shape. On one mount, the lower circular part of that motif enclosed a nodule at its centre. The comparable field on the other mount, however, was smooth, with no nodule. Each mount also was impressed with a raised border extending all around it. The motif of these mounts was similar to, although much smaller, than the design on the strap-end. Two small rivets were in evidence on the reverse side.

Small Leaf-Shaped Mounts

My examination showed these small leaf-shaped mounts from Vereb to be composed of silver and gilded, giving them a slightly bronze colour, and measuring 15mm in diameter. While they all bore similar ornamentation, they clearly could be divided into two types – 'solid' and 'opened'. Both types had ornamental borders of semi-circles enclosing drop-shaped central fields, while those classed as 'opened' had clear gaps made in their 'bases' and were line-etched to mimic the design of their upper halves. Each such 'opened' mount also had a flat bar from one edge of the gap to the other, presumably to facilitate the passing of something through the gap, such as a piece of strapping or a chain. Both types of mounts also had rivets on their reverse sides, with the 'solid' type having two rivets (one at each wide end) and the 'opened' type having one at each end of the cross bar. The small size of these mounts together with the reverse side rivets, suggested that these were used on one or more relatively narrow strips of leather, with the 'opened' type being used to secure or tighten the ends of the strips.

Small Foliate Vertical Mounts

While these Vereb mounts were composed of silver, I observed gilding that gave these mounts a decidedly golden colour. Each mount was 18mm long and 13mm at its widest point. Their long leaf shape was enhanced by a border of semi-circles enclosing a small round shape which formed the centre of the recessed central field. The reverse side of each mount had two rivets – one at its tip and the other at its wider 'bottom' section.

Ring

As no ring was among the Vereb assemblage when examined, no further comment could be made about it.

Circlets, incl. 'Bangles'

Of the two circlets examined, the first clearly was much larger than the second. The larger circlet appeared to be composed of gilded silver, not bronze as Hampel had claimed, concurring with Érdy's initial description. In line with Hampel's illustration of it, the terminals were in evidence, although one terminal appeared to have been slightly chipped at some point before Hampel's report, which had illustrated this same damage but had not commented on it. The timing of this damage was unclear, with various possibilities including it having occurred pre-burial during usage, or during its retrieval from the gravepit. An angled, flattened section 25mm long was

observed in the opposing arc to the terminal ends of this circlet. The outer diameter was 68mm, while the inner diameter measured 59mm. This circlet appeared to have been crafted by hand, with its thickness along its length varying from 3mm to 5mm. Despite a lack of ornamentation and having a very basic shape and style, this circlet clearly was intended to be worn as jewellery and more precisely could be referred to as a 'bangle'.

The second circlet (Plate 16) was a simple, circular piece of metal. Its composition was unclear, but the blackening tarnish upon it suggested that it may have been silver. This circlet measured 22mm in diameter. Its band was 1mm thick and the gap between its terminals was 4mm. No decoration was found on this circlet. While Hampel claimed this artefact to be a finger-ring and Erdélyi described it as a hair-ring, it appeared more likely to have been one of a pair of earrings, with the other earring lost at some time either pre-burial or during extraction of the gravegoods from the burial pit.

The second bracelet reported by Hampel (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 346 Figs. 2), was not among the examined assemblage and its fate could not be ascertained.

Coins

While 12 coins purportedly had been in the original Vereb assemblage when found, I observed only seven near-whole coins and one fragment among the Vereb assemblage. All near-whole coins bore two punctured holes which suggest that Mesterházy had been reasonable in deducing they had been attached to clothing. However, the holes indicated that the coins had been sewn to a softer fabric than leather, the latter being more suited to rivet attachments. The sewing of the coins to fabric also may have served a purpose other than simple decoration, perhaps of securing them while travelling for long distances on horseback.

The delicate nature of the coins meant that rubbings were not practical. Photographs were taken. However, the unsuitable lighting in the examination room rendered many of the images inadequate for proper identification later by experts. Consequently, I had to rely on the identifications and dating made by other recent scholars, while adding my own limited observations, as noted below.

One coin was composed of silver and measured 20mm in diameter (Plate 17). The centre of this coin was impressed with the letters 'PA, PIA, CI' in stacked formation, surrounded by the letters 'P, L, A, V, V, R, E, L, I, C' and two crosses.

The lettering suggested the coin was minted for a papal reign, although I could not determine the identity of the pope in question. Another coin was composed of silver on its obverse side and a mixture of silver and bronze on the reverse. It was slightly larger than the first coin, measuring 21mm across. An inscription on its obverse side showed various vertical lines and two crosses. These could not be deciphered. Its centre also was impressed with a cross with four dots, which I could not decipher. This coin resembled somewhat a coin illustrated by Hampel (1905: Fig. 348.5), although they could not be claimed as identical.

As with coin 2, the third coin was composed of silver on the obverse side and a mixture of silver and bronze on the reverse. Larger again, it measured 22mm in diameter. An inscription on the outer circle of its obverse side included the letters 'T, R' and possibly 'V', together with a cross. The inner circle on the same side had an unusual cross emblem with a circle on one arm. It did not appear to match any of Hampel's illustrations.

The fourth coin also was silver and bronze in the same configuration as coins 54 and 55. Unlike those coins, however, this coin was thinner. It measured 21mm across. On its obverse side could be seen an image of a seemingly male figure wearing a cross at his chest, encircled by an inscription that had been largely worn away. This coin also was one of three that bore the Museum's inventory marking of '21/1853.17' on its reverse. Despite this, the insignia and holes on the coin, it could not be matched visually with any coin illustrated by Hampel (1905: Pl. 348).

A fifth coin also was silver and bronze, measuring 21mm in diameter with an inscription on its obverse side. That inscription displayed a stylised central cross, surrounded by the letters 'O, I, O, S', followed by another cross, then the letters 'S, I, L, I' and a further cross. The obverse inscription and shape of this coin appeared to match Hampel's sixth coin (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 348.6). However, the reverse showed a circular impressed ridge surrounding the central markings that did not appear on Hampel's illustration (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 348.6).

The sixth coin, again of the same alloy as the previous four, was very thin and measured 21mm across. Unlike the other coins, its inscription was clearly decipherable, showing it had been minted for Pope Nicholas I (858-867CE). This coin also bore the Museum's mark of 21/1853.17 on its reverse. As with coin 56 above, despite the Museum mark, the insignia could not be matched visually with any coins illustrated by Hampel (1905: Pl. 348).

The final coin examined was again inscribed with the same Museum mark and may have been of the same alloy. It was very thin. The smallest of the coins, it measured only 19mm in diameter and was chipped in two places. Its obverse side inscription had a central cross, surrounded by several letters, largely worn away, though the letters 'L, O' and perhaps 'I' were decipherable.

While the reverse of this coin bore resemblance to the obverse illustration of Hampel's second coin (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 348.2), the other side could not be matched visually.

The fragment of a coin was roughly rectangular and appeared to be the same alloy as six of the coins. It measured 16mm by 7mm and its obverse side bore an inscription that displayed a cross in the centre with four dots and some partial letters. Of these letters, only 'I' and 'L' could be surmised with any certainty. From the small size of the fragment, it was not possible to determine if it matched any of Hampel's illustrations, with the insignia on Hampel's fifth coin (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 348.5) appearing to have had the closest similarity to it.

Galgocz

Sabretache Coverplate

The coverplate from this assemblage was not provided for my examination, and no clear explanation was offered for its absence.

Earrings

Recording the dimensions of this pair of artefacts, I noted the body of each silver bauble was 33mm long and 24mm wide, with a connecting 3mm-wide silver wire loop at its top; while each gold ring measured 14mm across. The motif on the two sides of each bauble comprised heavily impressed swirling lines around a central cartouche. One cartouche contained an image resembling a pear with leaves at its top, while the other depicted a nut with leaves attached at its top. These motifs differed significantly from those on the other artefacts I examined, suggesting a possible different point of manufacture.

Bracelet and Neckring

With no bracelet among the examined assemblage, the debate over the inclusion or exclusion of the claimed bracelets could not be examined. However, the neckring was present in the assemblage and, agreeing with Fettich (1937) and Fodor (1996: 390), I noted it had six thick silver wires intertwined and braided in pairs, forming a circular shape with flattened joining pieces at each end. Those ends first flared out, then decreased in width, until they formed an elongated section coiled over to form two parts of a clasp - one part forming a hook, and the other, a coil to loop over the hook, as per Fodor (1996: 390). This artefact was clearly intended as jewellery, as its stranded structure precluded a more utilitarian use. It bore no emblematic motif or insignia that might indicate an ethnic association of any type.

Coin

No coin was among the examined assemblage, nor any explanation offered for its absence. While its absence precluded further commentary about its physical composition or inscription, I was to observe from the reports of the earlier scholars that the conjecture over its usage as ornamental only or currency, might be too restrictive an explanation.

For instance, I observed that Pulszky had not discussed the possibility of the presence of the coin in the grave having had a spiritual purpose, such as a payment or bribe for passage to the afterlife. In that respect, Dömötör referred to an old custom in Hungary of leaving clothing fastenings and buttons undone and placing coins on the eyes of the deceased before burial (Dömötör, 1977: 70). While she did not associate this custom with the Conquest era Magyars, the presence of coins in the Galgocz grave may suggest a similar custom existed in earlier times.

Anarcs Find 1

Palmette Ornamented Buckle-plate or Belt strap-end

Only one 'gilded silver' or bronze 'floral' decorated buckle-plate was among the examined assemblage. Its oblong shape had one rounded end and two extensions with loops at the other end. Overall, it was 33mm long and 16mm from top to bottom. Each loop-end measured 5mm and was separated from another by an 11mm gap.

The hole of one of the loop ends was clear. The other appeared to have something stuck inside it, possibly a small fragment of brown leather. I left the fragment in place.

The motif on the obverse side was quite elaborate and showed clear multiple levels in its design of drooping tendrils either side of the central stem of a sprouting flower or palmette (this was unclear) with three leaves and side sprouting extensions in a curve. At the loop ends were swirls with smooth centres which appeared to have had some earlier decoration that had worn away. Three partial rivets were on the reverse side - one each slightly below and inside the area closest to the two loop ends and the third at the centre of the rounded end.

Heart-shaped Belt mounts x 2

Two belt mounts were examined that appeared to be made of gilded silver but may have been bronze. The first measured 12mm long and 14mm wide, shaped like a wide leaf, with only three rivets on its reverse side - one at the tip and one at each of its two sides. The second mount was 14mm long and 19mm wide, also with three similarly distributed rivets on its reverse side. Both mounts depicted a foliate form, possibly a lilium flower or trefoil palmette, although the second was narrower and longer, suggesting a leaf of a different plant type. Each mount bore an incised

swirling motif, but whether the swirls represented either a flower or a palmette appeared open to interpretation. If viewed with its tip at the top, the motif on the first wider belt mount could be described as a lilium or a very simple trefoil palmette, although the latter interpretation is questionable, given the simplicity of the design and the need to observe it only from that direction to recognise the image. However, even allowing for its narrower width, the motif on the second belt mount only suggested a similar depiction if its tip was also at the top. Even at that orientation, however, the motif could be interpreted as a bunch of grapes or simply as a simple attempt to reflect the motif on the other mount and therefore also is questionable in its interpretation.

Bronze Clasp Pin or Hook Link, Adze and Arrowheads

No artefacts of these types were among the examined assemblage.

Granulated Lunular Pendant with 5-Pointed Star

On inspection, the total height of this star-and-crescent pendant was 28mm, while the five-pointed star was 16mm wide 15mm high. The obverse of the star section showed a small stacked nodule on each point. The largest point at the top of the pendant had ten such nodules. Two smaller points at the sides each had three such nodules, while the largest two lower points each had six. In the centre of the star was a conical shape that protruded outwards by 4mm, with a diameter of 8mm. Signs of possible gilding appeared on both its central line ridges and the round nodule in the centre of the star. Below the star, the base was in the shape of a crescent, with a double-arched concavity at its inner side. Earlier reports did not mention this unusual shaping, although it was clearly an important distinguishing feature of the artefact. The crescent was 25mm wide and 13mm high and was divided into two parts, with each having its own inner concavity divided by ridged lines running around each part. Between the two parts was a depression formed by the ridged lines on either side of it, the placement of which aligned with the highest point of the central nodule of the star lying above it. Each part of the crescent had three groups of three nodules in a triangular pattern on a recessed background. Between the star and the crescent was a small neck piece, also with two nodules (one on each side). At the bottom of the artefact were a further two small nodules. The reverse of the object was mostly smooth with only a recessed area 6mm in diameter reflecting the rear of the conical centre of the star and an incised line lying across the lowest narrow part of the centre of the crescent. No testing was possible to confirm the composition of the pendant, although on the parts viewed as gilded the yellow colouring clearly differed from the colour of most of the artefact.

Szolyva

General Comment on Artefact Assemblage

Uncertainties over this assemblage were not limited to its reporting. According to Fodor, 22 inventory numbers were allocated to the assemblage (148/1870.1-22). Of these, I could only match eight descriptions in the reports with the numbered artefacts in the collection. Even then, some numbers appeared to have been allocated to multiple artefacts. A case in point was inventory #148/1870.10, which had been allocated to both the fragmentary remains of a dagger with its scabbard and a fragment identified as a possible quiver end. Of the remaining 14 inventory numbers, eight could be allocated tentatively to artefacts in the reports that were not among the examined assemblage, leaving four numbers unattributable. For example, inventory #140/1870.4 was allocated to a clay mug and some other fragments of tiles and pottery, all absent during the examination. While the inventory numbers for the silver button and bridle bit, both clearly described in the reports, could be matched with no artefact. Thus, the following discussion necessarily contains some significant gaps and uncertainties, and possibly some unintended duplications.

Sword or Sabre

For my examination, the remnant sabre/sword from Szolyva Trench 1, which was stored in a vault in another part of the Museum, arrived carefully wrapped in tissue paper. Its examination was conducted in a special room with dimmed lighting to protect the already very fragile fragment from further deterioration. The fragility of the artefact necessarily limited my examination to only cursory visual, non-microscopic inspection and measurement with only minimal contact. No flash photography was permitted, and all work was scrutinised by the Storage Master. Even in the dim light, extensive corrosion was evident, and the original metal could only be inferred from the colour of the rust. Any potential inscription or ornamentation on the blade or hilt was well beyond observation.

As observed, the weapon measured 363mm long and 26mm at its widest point, approximately one-third the length reported earlier and half the width, with no explanation offered for the enormous difference. The slight curve noted in earlier reports was not discernible, as the heavy corrosion had made the blade edges quite jagged and highly porous, giving it the appearance of a possible straight-blade. No scabbard remains were provided or explanation offered for their absence.

Dagger or Small Sword and Scabbard

Stored in the same special vault as the sword/sabre, this dagger or small sword (HNM Inv. 148/1870.10) and its scabbard from Szolyva also arrived for my examination wrapped in tissue paper.

Peeling back the paper, the extensive corrosion and fragility of the fragments were clearly visible. Although handling procedures for these artefacts were noticeably less restricted than for the sabre, in the dimly lit special room and without the aid of X-ray or Magnetic Resonance Imaging equipment, detailed examination of the underlying metalwork could not be properly undertaken. In addition, the Storage Master was called away unexpectedly. As per Museum protocol, he had to return artefacts to their vault before proceeding to his next call, which meant that only the initial photography and measurement of these artefacts could be completed. Consequently, the only additional information gained about this weapon was that its blade appeared straight-edged and the weapon measured 220mm in total length and 33mm in width, significantly longer and wider than Lehoczky's measurements. All that could be determined about the scabbard was that the largest of the three fragments was generally 43-50mm wide before tapering down one edge sharply to a point, with the blade curve of the dagger replicated in the shape of the scabbard. The other two scabbard fragments were smaller and near shapeless. No special markings or stylistic elements could be discerned on any fragment to aid in considering a possible ethnic association for either the weapon or its scabbard.

Arrowheads

Only one artefact I observed fits the widely-accepted idea of a leaf-shaped arrowhead (HNM Inv. 148/1870.11). It measured 85mm long and 23mm across its widest point, tapering towards both ends, with a roughly rounded tip at one end and narrowing to a flat 10mm at the other. At that end, 8-10mm thick shaft joints were visible, while the thickness of the arrowhead varied between 0.5mm and 1mm.

Another artefact (HNM Inv. 148/1870. 14) measured 7.5mm at its widest midpoint with its end thicknesses measuring 3-5mm. At my examination, there appeared to be no readily discernible method of securing this 91mm long, narrow artefact within a typical arrow haft. Thus, a more likely explanation for its tapering to a slightly rounded point at both ends was the assertion by Fodor (1996: 176) of a spike-terminalled stiffening mount for a quiver.

During examination, a fragment of a probable larger artefact (HNM Inv. 148/1870.10) appeared to match the expected general design of the lower end of a quiver, both in shape and size.

Reasonably triangular, it comprised front and back pieces joined along two sides. The fragment measured 47mm from top to bottom and 48mm across at its widest point. With a 29x12mm opening on one side, this hollow fragment appeared to comprise a combination of coarse cloth and leather, with possibly some bone structural fragments, although all elements had significantly deteriorated over time and its actual composition could not be confirmed without further, unavailable, laboratory testing.

Wedged inside the bottom of this fragment, which I considered to be a quiver end, was a small piece of what appeared to be one, or perhaps two, feathered ends of arrows. Several attempts were made to photograph this piece *in situ*, rather than risk damaging the fragment further. However, the limited equipment and inadequate lighting, prevented a definitive image being made. Plate 21 shows the opening of this 'quiver end' fragment with the possible remains of these feathered pieces indicated with red arrows.

Unidentified Artefact

Another artefact (HNM Inv. 148/1870.20) was described by the Storage Master as the fusion of an arrow shaft end and a harnessing strap with an attached ring, caused by intense heat (Puskás, 2011 personal communication). However, I was unable to match that description with any scholar's report on the assemblage, so it was difficult to determine which scholar's description, if any, actually referred to the artefact I observed or to the fusion of two artefacts that might form this fragment. On examination, one part of the artefact, however, did resemble the ringed part of a horse's bit with a rod attached; while the other appeared to be a narrow, flat plate of uncertain function, as it was too wide for an arrow shaft.

Both parts of the artefact appeared to be iron and perhaps had been forged at the same time, as the discolouration on both was consistent throughout their lengths, suggesting the same piece of base metal was used in their manufacture. Coupled with the lack of any observable gap where the two parts come into contact, it was possible they were connected originally as part of a larger, unidentified piece of equipment, such as a large chest with a ring attachment for connecting a rope or chain. In the hope of later properly identifying the artefact, it was sketched, photographed and measured. However, subsequent searching for similar shapes in other excavations provided no clarity to the matter.

Bracelet

Measuring 56mm in diameter from the open-terminalled end to the opposite side and 62mm across between them, on examination, this smooth, ovoid artefact appeared too wide to fit

snugly over Lehoczky's claimed quiver end fragment, which measured only 48mm at its widest point. Instead, in line with Fodor's (1996: 176) suggestion of a sleeve-gatherer, the circlet appeared more suited to holding together the fabric of a wide shirt sleeve. As such it may be expected to have been one of a pair. However, no textile impression was observed on the soft silver of the artefact and only one such artefact was among the assemblage, or was reported as such, leaving open the possibility that it was simply a plain piece of silver jewellery, as per Hampel and Fettich. As indicated in Plate 20, incomplete breakages at two opposing sides of the band further support the view that it was frequently used and removed, as would be likely for a clothing accessory or jewellery item, rather than for Lehoczky's strapping ring over a quiver end.

Silver-Plating or Button

Neither a button or silver-plate was among the examined assemblage and no explanation was offered for their absence.

Sabretache Coverplate

Agreeing with Fodor that the plate was a sabretache coverplate, I noted several small, thin, rectangular sheets of silver with gilding had been added to the reverse of the plate and these additions coincided with worn areas on the obverse motif, indicating that, at some point, and perhaps several times, the coverplate had been repaired. That, in turn, suggested the coverplate had been in use for some time before it was buried. I noted also that the plate measured 110x123mm and was slightly curved inwards along its length.

Stirrups

Examination revealed six fragments stored together as one stirrup in the examined assemblage. One near semi-circular fragment clearly belonged to the part of the stirrup that goes over the rider's foot. This fragment had only the upper part of the ring present and the flattish evidence of a break at one end. Its thickness varied from 3mm near its central point to 9mm at its thickest part. The semi-circle was 226mm long from end to end, while the gap between the two ends measured 123mm across.

Of the other five irregularly-shaped fragments, the largest measured 97mm on its longest side and 38mm at its widest part. Its thickness varied from 2mm on that wide part to 11mm at the opposite end. The longest side also had been folded over gently, forming a curvature in that part. Except for one, the other fragments were relatively flat. Fragment #4 had a small fold on one side and, unlike the others, appeared to comprise more than one layer. Fragment #5 had a large nodule on it and its edge was folded inwards forming a curve.

An attempt was made to fit together fragments #2-6. However, their edges did not match in any, but the slightest, possible ways and the shapes created by those minute connections bore no resemblance to any viable artefact among the reported assemblage. Thus, it was concluded that these fragments may have come from either or both stirrups reported by Lehoczky, or possibly from another iron-based artefact in the grave. The disparate folds and curvatures on some of the fragments lent support to the latter possibility.

Bridle Parts, including a Bit

No recognisable bit was among the examined assemblage, although one or several heavily corroded iron fragments may have formed part of one.

Buckles and Iron Fragments

I observed only one artefact resembling a buckle (Inv. 148/1870.19). However, it appeared too thick and cumbersome to be used on clothing, and its function otherwise was ambiguous.

Three iron fragments were among the assemblage. One may have been a large buckle, a possibility supported by it having one straight side and one curved side, together forming the typical 'D' shape of many buckles, and a small ring around the centre of the straight side, as part of the mechanism for a buckle's tongue. Its thickness further suggested that this 'buckle' was part of the harnessing equipment, as it appeared too thick for Lehoczky's quiver strap buckle (1870: 204). The original form and function of the other two were indeterminate.

Leather fragments, Wooden Planks and Sandstone Slab

No fragment of leather was observed among the examined assemblage. No discernible wooden remains were among the assemblage and there was no indication that such remains still existed but had been removed temporarily for other study or display. My examination also revealed no sandstone block or fragment in the examined Szolyva assemblage.

Baubles

My examination showed these baubles (Plate 22) to be bronze metal, not silver-trimmed china, each with ballooning ridged sides and concentric circles that seemingly gather and tie both ends into bundles. On one bauble, the remains of a ring attachment were visible. On the other, this ring attachment had mostly broken off and only a small stump remained. Both baubles were 18mm wide. One was 23mm long and the other, slightly longer, at 27mm. The size and nature of these baubles and the thickness of their rings, suggested their usage as hanging toggles attached to a cord for gathering or closing together a heavy garment, such as a coat or cloak.

Bezdéd Cemetery

Spear (Grave 7A)

While the blade of this weapon was heavily corroded when examined (Plate 22), its four edges could be clearly discerned. Scales were not available during examination to gauge its weight, but it was quite weighty to lift and hold, suggesting that its user must have been sufficiently strong to cast or plunge it with any level of force or accuracy.

Arrowheads

Only four probable arrowheads were among all the graves. Grave 2G had only one very narrow and pointed arrowhead resembling a very thick needle; while three of a general foliate shape (Plate 12) were among the grave 8I artefacts (HNM Inv. 86/1896.219, 200, 221), with the tip of one folded over and a small hole punctured into its rounded end (HNM Inv. 86/1896.220).

Bow and Small Knife

No bow was among the entire Bezdéd assemblage when examined, which suggests that Fodor may have erred in his statement regarding five bows.

As the lone cutting implement in the grave 11a collection was reasonably solid, although heavily corroded, it seemed likely to me that this artefact was the handle-ended half of a large knife or dagger, given the knobbed banding in its centre. Alternatively, it may have been the entire knife or dagger, in which case the blade appeared to be quite short. If so, then the other fragment referred to in the earlier reports may have been a second bladed instrument and the deceased female may have been buried with both a dagger and a knife.

Small Knife

An implement of this type was not among the grave 14d gravegoods, when examined.

Bone Fragments

Examination of the grave 7A artefacts revealed two bone fragments with central elongated holes. (Plate 23). While both fragments were similar in shape and carving, the ends of thin fragment ‘A’ were pointed, while the ends of the thicker fragment (‘B’) were flatter. Thus, the one most likely to match the descriptions by Jósa (1896b) and Hampel was ‘A’. As none of the reports included a second bone fragment anywhere in the Bezdéd assemblage, the presence of ‘B’ in the grave 7A collection therefore appeared to be an error, with that fragment probably belonging to another assemblage. In that respect, two possibilities arise. The first was that

fragment 'B' belonged to grave 10K, where Jósa had claimed a bow had been found, and this fragment was a part of that missing bow. The second was that it belonged to one of Fodor's five unnamed 'bow' graves (Fodor, 1996: 181), but which were not supported by earlier reports.

Iron Fragments

Examination of the assemblage revealed 12 iron fragments, distributed between four male graves (2G,4D,5C,8I) and one female (15e). The greatest number (seven) were among the gravegoods for the smallest young male (grave 5C), although that number may have been due to breakage of larger pieces, rather than their intentional deposition. Of the three other graves, grave 8I had two fragments and the other three each had one. The function of these highly corroded and indistinct fragments was indeterminate. Only the form of the fragment in grave 15e suggested a possible damaged arrowhead. However, as confirmed artefacts of that type did not appear in any of the 'female' assemblages, this possibility remains speculation.

Small Whetstone (Grave 8I)

Among the grave 8I artefacts, when examined, was a flattish smooth-surfaced artefact, of possibly marble (Plate 24), that may have been the small whetstone or grinding stone described respectively by Jósa (1896b: 398) and Hampel (1905: 518) for that grave. Measuring 43x27mm, with rounded and chipped corners, its smooth and slightly shiny surface was suggestive of frequent handling.

Whetstone (Grave 3F)

This whetstone (Plate 25) measured 73x17mm and was 7.5mm thick at its densest point. The hole was 4mm in diameter and appeared to have been drilled very neatly, suggesting it was made by the steady hand of a skilled craftsman. A large chip, however, was evident near the drilled hole, while the undrilled end had been chipped in the middle. It was unclear whether the two chips were made pre-burial or had occurred during retrieval of the artefact, although it was clear that the chips had been made unintentionally.

No artefact resembling either a whetstone or grinding stone was among the artefacts for either grave 4D (Plate 26) or grave 10K, when examined. However, an artefact (Plate 27) was found among the grave 3F artefacts that matched both Jósa's description of an 'elongated dark whetstone' (Jósa, 1896b: 394) for grave 4D and Hampel's 'grinding stone of dark material' (Hampel, 1905: 516) for the same grave. This latter artefact therefore may have been wrongly placed in that collection between Jósa's original report and Hampel later texts and remained

there; while later scholars have simply echoed Jósa's description but not corrected the storage error.

Sickle

No identifiable sickle fragment was among the examined grave 4D assemblage.

Pottery

No mug or pot was among the grave 3F artefacts and its whereabouts were unknown. However, a fragment was examined that measured 44x23mm, with a thickness of 15mm (HNM Inv. 86/1896.146). It bore at least one shiny and fairly smooth surface but was too jagged and misshapen for a clear assessment to be made of its original form. The slightly rounded shape of its inner surface suggested it may have been the remnant of a thick-walled piece of stoneware pottery.

Silver-plate Fragments

Eight thin and jagged fragments were among the grave 4D assemblage when examined (Plate 27), all with multiple punctures indicating their method of attachment. Their fragility was evident in the large central fracture of one (HNM Inv. 86/1896.155). However, no silver-plate fragments inhabited the examined assemblage for grave 8I. Nor was there a silver or brass plating of any size or shape among the grave 2G assemblage when examined. It was assumed therefore that, if such plates had been among the gravegoods, they had totally disintegrated sometime following László's text. With the possible exception of the thin plates in grave 9J, which may be the flat silver wire fragments noted earlier, the fragments reported for the other two graves were not among the gravegoods when examined.

Heart-shaped artefact (Grave 1H)

On inspection, this artefact (Plate 28) was clearly broken and its original shape and purpose could only be inferred. However, the seeming roughness of its surface suggested it may have decorated the harnessing straps or saddle of the horse.

Indeterminate, fragmented bronze artefact (Grave 16f)

No such artefact was among the examined assemblage.

Three twisted bronze wire fragments (Grave 4D)

Noted by Hampel as used for earrings, these artefacts (HNM Inv. 86/1896.174-175) could have been used for a range of purposes, although their coarsely twisted nature would have made the comfortable wearing of them as earrings seem less likely.

Spangles, Pendants and other 'Hanging Ornaments'

I observed fragments of six, perhaps seven, ornaments in the grave 16f collection (Plate 30). A lack of detail in the reports hindered my ability to confidently associate these ornaments with any of the artefacts noted for that grave. However, the distinct shape of these ornaments (pentagonal upper section and lower circular section with a central hole) resembled a pendant in the grave at Vereb, which also had a pentagonal upper section, but with a ringed lower section.

I also observed that István Bóna (2001: n.p.n) had noted a 'grape' design had featured on a number of earrings in Conquest-era women's graves at sites around Kolozsvár (now Cluj, Romania). This raised the possibility that this artefact had been made in the same locality as those other earrings, and, possibly, that the female buried in grave 16f was associated in some way with the Magyars who had settled in the Transylvanian region.

At examination, I observed 10 'full' and six 'half' artefacts of this type in the grave 10K collection (Plate 31), agreeing with Hampel's total of 13 'full' pieces. The loop atop each clearly indicated it was intended for attachment, although their number was too numerous to have been simply sleeve or collar closers, while too few for decorating a shift hem of any width. Thus, a possible use for these 'pendants' may have been as toggle-type buttons used in pairs down the front of a shirt or light-weight jacket, noting the absence of one full toggle from the 14 required for seven pairs.

Beads

Only one bead (HNM Inv. 86-1896-31) was among the grave 2G artefacts. It was brownish coloured, possibly a dark-toned agate, with a smooth surface and a distinct conical shape. Museum staff offered no explanation for the absence of more beads as suggested by the earlier reports. As the earlier reports on grave 2G lacked descriptions of the beads, I was unable to determine if this bead was typical of those inferred in the earlier reports, or was, in some way, unique. Its conical shape and lack of a hole for threading it onto a string suggested that it was not the remains of a necklace or bracelet.

A beaded bracelet was the only artefact in the examined grave 13c collection. While no bracelet was reported by earlier scholars, it appeared the 19 beads they reported for this grave had been threaded together to form a bracelet by curatorial staff at the Museum. The extra-large bead with three white bands around it was clearly identifiable, although the colours of the other beads were somewhat dimmed and less able to be matched to the reports. The large bead clearly did not belong with the smaller beads as a bracelet, and the bracelet without the large bead would have been so small as to only fit over a small or very slender hand. Thus, while the act of threading the beads together served to protect them from loss, it also clouded the issue of their original placements and functions.

My examination of the grave 14d collection revealed a beaded necklace that comprised 43 beads of various colours strung together (yellow, brown, silver, semi-transparent, and a dark colour), with the string ends tied. The bead sizes varied (small and larger, singles and doubles), as did their shapes (mostly round, some squarish with ridging down their sides, and a couple flatter). The larger beads formed the 'front' of the necklace and the sizes reduced progressively closer to the tied ends. This necklace did not appear in Jósa's reports or in his drawing of the 14d assemblage, where 10 double beads and six singles of various sizes were illustrated (Items 6-21), totalling only 26 beads (Fig. XIV Sír 2/3n. in Jósa, 1896b: 406), not the 43 beads comprising this necklace. As with the beaded bracelet in the grave 13c collection, this necklace appeared to have been constructed by curatorial staff. This difference in the number of beads on this necklace when compared to the reports, supported Hampel's assertion that some beads in the collection were from another grave (Hampel, 1905: 521). If so, it appears the error identified by Hampel in 1905 continues uncorrected and has been compounded by the incorrect labelling of the individual beads and their threading together to form the necklace.

My examination of the grave 15e collection revealed 27 pea-sized beads in various combinations (three doubles, three triples and three quadruples), and two larger single beads making 29 in total (Plate 32). This composition matched Jósa's illustration of the beaded necklace among the grave 15e artefacts (Jósa, 1896b: 407 Fig. XV Sír B. 2/3 n. Item 1), and Hampel's later description of it (Hampel, 1905: 522). However, the beads in the examined collection all appeared to be opaque glass with a silvery sheen. Assuming these were the same beads as reported by Jósa and Hampel and had not been confused with another assemblage, their lack of colour variation could only be assumed to be due to fading over time in the Museum's storage rooms, despite other beads in the study having retained their colours.

Fabric

No fabric remnant or fragment attached to a mount was observed among the examined assemblage, indicating that either the fabric pieces described by Jósa and Hampel had disintegrated or were intentionally removed sometime between 1905 and 1944, in the latter case perhaps to enable the individual mounts to be painted with their inventory numbers.

Belt strap-end

The belt strap-end from grave 8I was significantly tarnished but still in relatively good condition. The motif on its obverse side was fairly well rubbed and could not be adequately photographed. However, Plate 29 shows the reverse of the artefact with the two ovals (or cartouches) in its centre and indentations surrounding them indicating the raised relief on the obverse side. The drawing for grave 8I (Folio 401) placed this artefact lying horizontally near the top of the left hip bone, also suggestive of a belt strap-end, although the artefact showed no evidence of attachment to leather or another fabric.

Belt buckles

No artefact that could be definitively called a buckle, of iron or bronze, was among the examined grave 4D artefacts. However, a small bronze artefact was examined (HNM Inv. 86/1896.177), measuring only 12mm at its widest point and 8mm in height, with a 4mm hole in its centre. While its shape suggested a buckle, its small size made it impractical for securing any but the finest fabrics or a very thin, and therefore easily breakable, leather strap. It also had no 'tongue', or any indication that a tongue had been present at one time.

Rusted buckle fragment

Given its claimed placement within grave 12b, this artefact may have been a buckle or a knife blade, but it was not among the examined artefacts, so its form or likely function could not be confirmed.

Wire Fragments

The wire fragments I observed in the grave 9J collection were so thin and fragile that the idea of their having formed a bracelet in the past appeared unlikely. In my view, a bracelet of any kind would need to be sufficiently robust to withstand being put on, worn and taken off, frequently and/or at random times. These fragments were clearly not that robust. Indeed, their thinness suggested they had been a whole wire thread that the man had intended to forge into something useful at a later time.

It was also noteworthy that the fragility of these wire pieces was so great that there were already 16 fragments, not the seven reported by Jósa or the 13 recorded in the Museum's inventory (86/1896. 2555-2567). Therefore, to avoid further damage, I could not take actual measurements but only make a 'visual' estimate of the seemingly longest (80mm) and shortest (5mm) of them.

Leather Pouch

No leather pouch was among the assemblage and no explanation was offered for its absence.

Bit

The bit in the examined grave 8I assemblage had ringed ends (Plate 9), which raised the question of whether this bit was the original one found in the grave (Jósa, 1896b: 390) and the overdrawing was incorrect, or if this ringed bit had been confused with the straight-rodded bit belonging to grave 8I, as per the overdrawing and Jósa's report (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Similarly, the grave 9J bit in the examined assemblage had ringed ends, this time partly broken off, again placing doubt on whether this bit was the correct one for that grave, given Jósa originally reported it with straight-rod ends (Jósa, 1896b: 397) and Hampel with square-ringed ends (Hampel, 1905: 519).

Sabretache Coverplate

The coverplate (Plate 10) was viewed under the same restricted conditions as the sword and dagger, so only minimal handling and photography were permitted over a brief period. Due to its fragility, the coverplate arrived already mounted on a special board and remained there throughout the viewing. The decorative elements described by the scholars were clearly visible, although my own view of them was that: the cross was Byzantine Orthodox, like Fodor (1996: 181-184) and László (1944: 95) had claimed; while the animals on the motif were a combination of (1) Jósa's dragon-tailed first 'winged' horse and (2) Hampel's 'bird' (Jósa, 1896b: 399.; Hampel, 1905: 518).

Sword or Sabre

While the grave 8I weapon (Plate 11) was examined, as discussed in Chapter 5, the two weapons from graves 10K and 4D were not offered for examination, so their forms, functions and possible associations could not be assessed.

Appendix 6

Additional Reporting on the Artefacts

Benepuszta

Stirrups and Bit

Two stirrups and an equine jaw bit were reported by Jankowich (1835: 283, 285) but were not among the examined assemblage. Jankowich reported the heavily corroded iron stirrups had been suspended originally from a saddle in the same way as could be seen in his day on Magyar riding equipment (Jankowich, 1835: 285). Nelson (2015) indicated the placement of a stirrup and the length of its attachment to a saddle could vary due to the type of saddle and needs of the rider. No remnant of an attachment piece was indicated in the report by Jankowich nor was present during my examination. Jankowich noted the iron bit was found among the 'healthy' teeth of the horse (Jankowich, 1835: 283) but was unclear as to whether horse bones were retrieved and viewed by him, or if their information was received from Szentkirályi. Jankowich described the shape of the bit as the same as those used in his day by Magyar herders when training young horses (Jankowich, 1835: 283). Most later scholars made no mention of the stirrups or bit. Révész alone referred to them briefly (Révész, (1996c: 338), echoing Jankowich's claim about the placement of the bit and that they had "probably been destroyed by corrosion in the museum storeroom" (Révész, (1996c: 338).

Ornamental Mounts

While the larger artefacts dominated past disagreements in the reporting, the smaller artefacts also caused discord among the scholars. Table A6.1 below shows significant differences in the number of mounts reported. Jankowich roughly estimated more than 30. That number grew to 77 under Pulszky but then reduced to 64 with Hampel and Fettich, with the latter giving the most detailed description including measurements, stylistic features and attachment methods.

Révész (1996c: 338-340) agreed with Hampel and Fettich that the mounts were low-grade silver but described the large leaf-shaped ornaments as 'flower-like' and tentatively suggesting they were breast-collar ornaments (Révész, 1996c: 339). Fettich earlier compared these same mounts to rosette-designed ones found at Hencida, Hungary and suggested they had decorated the bit or rein of a horse (Fettich, 1937: 69).

Table A6.1 – Variations in the Reporting of Benepuszta Ornamental Mounts

Author	Mounts	Further Comments
Jankowich (1835: 286)	More than 30	Belt mounts. All silver. 3 variations in shape and decoration. Either attached to woven fabric or natural fur clothing, or decorated harnessing equipment
Pulszky (1890: 7)	77 (Clothing: 59; Harnessing: 18)	Near 2½ times number reported by Jankowich. All silver, some gilding on harnessing mounts.
Hampel (1900: 546-550, 1905 II: 472-476)	64 (10 x large leaf-shaped; 16 x smaller; 15 x bridle or belt; 9 x wider; 14 x simple, narrow)	Double number reported by Jankowich, but significantly less than quantity given by Pulszky. All low-grade silver, some traces of gilding
Fettich (1937: 69, Figs. XXXIV-XXXVI)	64 (Type 1. 16 x 260mm in height; Type 2. 8 x 280mm in height; Type 3. 16 x 260mm in height; Type 4. 14 x 240mm in width and height; Type 5. 10 x large leaf-shaped)	Types 1-4: All low-grade silver. Workmanship technically same, no gilding. Reverse sides slightly concave, 3 rivets either side. 'Nail-like' rivet ends hammered down, below each nail-tip is a small plate, mostly smoothened. (Fettich, 1937: 69, Plates. XXXIV. 1. 7. 19; XXXV. 13, 14, 28, 29). Small loops cut from flat metal ribbons, attached after etching (Fettich, 1937. Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 1-4) Type 5: 2 styles. All cast-silver. 4 x etched after casting (Fettich, 1937: 69, Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 1-4). 2 x untouched, smooth reverse sides (Fettich, 1937: 69, Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 5-6). Made already bearing long nail-like extensions bent backwards to form loops (Fettich, 1937. Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 5-6). Nail-like loop extensions on reverse sides prevented further decoration of ornaments (Fettich, 1937. Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 5-6). Both designs: centre fields gilded, external parts plain silver (Fettich, 1937. Plate. XXXVII. Nos. 1-4, 5-6)

Dienes noted the mounts only in a general sense as depicting the mythical 'Tree of Life' which he claimed was associated with the ancient Magyars' shamanistic beliefs for protection and were usually worn by the women (Dienes, 1972: 60). He asserted that "only in the most distinguished families did males wear well-chosen protective symbols similar to those of the women" (Dienes, 1972: 60), suggesting the motif here indicated the Benepuszta male had been a member of a distinguished family.

Arrowheads

Jankowich noted the iron arrowheads (1835: 285) were not 'snake-like' in style, like those of the Greek, Roman or Eastern peoples (Jankowich, 1835: 285) but pointed and flat-leaf shaped and about 'three fingers' long (Jankowich, 1835: 285). While Jankowich only claimed there had been 'several' arrowheads (Jankowich, 1835: 285), Pulszky (1890: 7) incorrectly claimed he had specified four. Pulszky (1890: 7) then contradicted himself by stating the quantity of arrowheads had come from the diary of their cataloguer, János Érdy, and intimated his text simply repeated

Érdy. Hampel later published the first of two catalogues of the Conquest-era finds known to that date (Hampel, 1900) but omitted these arrowheads. Nearly a century later, Révész reported the arrowheads must have perished since their acquisition by the Museum (Révész, 1996c: 338).

Studs

The small ornaments were first described 100 years after Jankowich's initial report. Fettich reported them as 42 small, round silver buttons uniformly 14mm in diameter with round gilded recesses in their centres, two small rivets soldered to the reverse of each and a small plate at each rivet tip (Fettich 1937: 69, Plates XIII. 11—25, XXXIV. 25—51). Sixty years later, Révész concurred with Fettich regarding their quantity, composition and shape (Révész, 1996c: 339) but described them as 'mounts' and that their position in the grave indicated "they ornamented a caftan" (Révész, 1996c: 339). He noted that "similar ornaments have come to light in the princely burial found at Zemplín/Zemplén and in grave 16 of the Tiszabezdéd cemetery" (Révész, 1996c: 339).

Coins

Jankowich reported the coins in the original assemblage as silver and numbering between 30 and 40 pieces (Jankowich, 1835: 290). They were reported as found under the skeletal remains of the warrior (Jankowich, 1835: 290), presumably from information provided by Szentkirályi. Jankowich observed that some bore the insignia of King (then Emperor) Berengar I, who had ruled Italy (888—924CE). Based on these coins, Jankowich dated the grave to the first decades of the Tenth Century CE and concluded the deceased had been among the Magyars that had arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the Ninth Century CE (Jankowich, 1835: 290).

From this, he then also researched works by Muratorius (915, 922), Balusius (922), Duchesne (922), Sigler (after 926) and Bonfini (1495), paying special attention to instances where the ancient Magyars under Prince Solt (a son of Árpád) were recorded in Italy or fighting in military campaigns alongside the army of Berengar I (Jankowich, 1835: 290—292). Coupling these instances and other later texts by Székely (1559), Heltai (1575), Pethő (1660), Lisznyai (1690) and Fessler (1815: 278) Jankowich concluded the skeletal remains were those of a Magyar who had fought in those campaigns. He based that assessment on a combination of local legend about a brave warrior being rewarded with a large tract of land in the area, the lavishness of the original assemblage described by Szentkirályi, and wounds on the deceased's cranium (Jankowich, 1835: 281, 290—296).

Jankowich's use of the coins to date the grave relied on information received third-hand, as the shepherds who found the grave handed some grave goods to Szentkirályi who then showed them to Jankowich and described those that were missing (Jankowich, 1835: 281—2). However, Jankowich did not see the grave in context and had no way of knowing whether the artefacts had come from a sealed grave or the original complete contents. Thus, while the coins most probably did come from the grave, Jankowich could not be certain of it.

Pulszky claimed the coins were found under the 'hero's' corpse and comprised 30 or 40 'Berengar type' pieces dated between 915 and 923 CE (Pulszky, 1890: 6). Each coin bore a pierced hole for sewing onto a robe (Pulszky, 1890: 6). He noted that Érdy listed only 12 coins among the National Museum's Benepuszta collection (Pulszky, 1890: 6) which he claimed had been gifted to the Museum by Szentkirályi (Pulszky, 1890: 7). Hampel (1905: 475—476) referred to Pulszky's article but stated the find contained 30 coins, not the 'near 30 or 40' Jankowich originally reported (Jankowich, 1835: 289) or the more specifically '30 or 40' noted by Pulszky (1890: 6) but catalogued by Érdy as 12 pieces (Pulszky, 1890: 7). Hampel noted all the coins bore the insignia of King or Emperor Berengar and that the hole in each indicated their use as jewellery (Hampel, 1905: 475—476). He described in detail the inscriptions of only nine coins and noted one possible further fragment (Hampel, 1905: 475—476). Hampel though contradicted himself by noting that several bore impressions of figures other than Berengar (Hampel, 1905: 476). Two coins were impressed with the insignias of King and Emperor Charles the Bald of France (reigned 844—877CE), one with the insignias of Pope Nicholas (858—867) and Emperor Ludwig Nicholaus II (844—875), one with Pope Benedict IV (900—903) (Hampel, 1905: 475—476) and a fifth with both Berengar and Pope John IX (898 to 900), (Hampel, 1905: 476). He described only four with the insignia of Berengar I alone (Hampel, 1905: 476).

Fettich claimed Hampel had confused the Benepuszta coins with coins from the Vereb collection and blamed the confusion on hand-written notes prepared for Hampel by László Réthy, curator at the Museum (Fettich, 1937: 68). Apparently, from those notes Hampel inadvertently had included the two coins for Charles the Bald of France to his Benepuszta report (Fettich, 1937: 68). Noting that Lajos Huszár had established that all the coins were from the reign of Berengar I (888—924) (Fettich, 1937: 69), Fettich displayed only eight 'near complete' ones and three partials but noted that he had seen the empty case for a twelfth piece (Fettich, 1937: 70, Plate. XXXVII, Nos. 1—11, 1A—11A). Fettich reported the eight coins bore the name of Berengar in various forms (Berencarius Rex, Berengaruss Rex, Berenikarius Rex, Bern[eg]ari[v mp] and Berenikarivsi) (Fettich, 1937: 70) and that one also had the name 'P[etrv]' in its centre and

another the monogram of Pope John X (914—928CE) (Fettich, 1937: 70), not Pope John IX as noted by Hampel (1905: 476). Révész later only commented that some coins had been among the surviving finds and suggested "the warrior had been buried in the 930s and had thus participated in the Conquest and in ensuing military expeditions" (Révész, 1996c: 338).

Vereb

Arrowheads

Érdy reported six iron arrowheads in a bundle to the left of the skeleton (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate III. 14). Nagy (1892: 300), Hampel (1905: 485) and Erdélyi (1978: 287) agreed with Érdy on their number and composition with Erdélyi claiming they were actually with the horse harnessing equipment below the equine bones and above the skeleton (Erdélyi, 1978: 287).

Érdy (1858: 15) emphasised the fastening of an arrow tip to its shaft differed between the 'West' and the 'East' (i.e. between Europe and Asia). In the West, arrow shafts were punctured, and the arrowhead ends inserted into those holes (Érdy, 1858: 15). In the East, gaps were carved into the arrowhead ends and the arrow shafts were inserted into those gaps (Érdy, 1858: 15). But Érdy did not then associate the Vereb arrowheads with a western or eastern stylistic origin.

Nagy noted the placement of the arrowheads indicated the quiver was hung at the left hip (Nagy, 1892: 300). Hampel noted the flat ellipsoid blades of the arrowheads and their pointed tips with shafts mostly broken off (Hampel, 1905: 487, Figs. 7—10). One arrowhead had terminated ends and was widest near its tip with the width tapering uniformly towards the shaft (Hampel, 1905: 487, Fig. 14). He also reported a shaft and blade fragment from another arrowhead (Hampel, 1905: 487) and several indeterminate iron fragments (Hampel, 1905: 487). He did not compare these fragments to Érdy's six arrowheads but his description and illustration (Hampel, 1905: 487, Figs. 11—13) suggest they may have been the remains of the other two arrowheads.

Erdélyi favourably compared the Vereb assemblage with finds made in 1900 near the Don and Ment rivers by Russian archaeologist, D.I. Popov, the report of which Erdélyi claimed had been lost during World War II (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Erdélyi noted the six arrowheads measured 58—69mm in length with the shortest due to breakage (Erdélyi, 1978: 287).

Mesterházy noted only that "the grave inventory was relatively simple" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375) and the deceased was a warrior, despite the absence of weaponry from his text, (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375). This suggests that Mesterházy either limited his description to the more 'interesting' artefacts as he saw them or had already adopted the 'warrior' view of ancient

Magyars promoted by Jankowich and continued in later reports, without referring to Érdy's original report.

Stirrups

The two stirrups were heavily corroded iron (Érdy, 1858: Plate II. 1). Érdy compared them to some found in graves in Livland[136] and implied a similar manufacture. If Érdy's comparison has merit, four possibilities exist for their possession by the Vereb 'warrior'. The first is that he acquired them at some point in that far-off region. Second, that he acquired them through trade closer to or within the Carpathian Basin. Both possibilities allow for the deceased to have been of any ethnicity with access to those means. The third is that the 'warrior' had come from that distant region, raising some question over his Magyar ethnicity. Another is that the stirrups were of a style more generally associated with Finno-Ugric speakers wherever they might be found. Érdy did not explore these possibilities, preferring to accept unquestioningly a Magyar ethnicity for the deceased while effectively ignoring his own observations.

Pulszky repeated that the two stirrups resembled those found in Livland graves (Pulszky, 1890: 10). Nagy mentioned the equestrian equipment only as a set (Nagy, 1892: 301) and that it resembled later finds at Pilin and Szolyva which he connected with a Scythian practice of burying a horse with skeletal remains (Nagy, 1892: 300). Hampel described the stirrups (Hampel, 1905: 487 Figs.1—2) but omitted comment on a possible Livland manufacture (Érdy, 1858: 14), Nagy's Scythian burial practice (Nagy, 1892: 301), or any other ethnic association. Including the Vereb assemblage in his compilation text rather suggests he either accepted a Magyar ethnicity for the deceased or took an uncommitted stance, avoiding or ignoring the issue of ethnicity. Hampel's close association with Pulszky may have contributed to his approach to the ethnicity question when dealing with the artefacts.

Erdélyi (1978: 287) did not mention the Vereb stirrups. While he may have simply overlooked them, it needs to be remembered that he was promoting a Saltovo culture[137] connection and his omission of them makes one wonder if he was attempting to disregard any possible alternative ethnic explanation.

[136] Livland is the German name for a region more commonly known as Livonia, inhabited by a people called Livs, who have been categorised linguistically in the Finno-Ugric language family. The region is located along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea. While its long history has seen many changes in rulership, since 1990 the territory has been divided between the countries of Latvia and Estonia (Encyclopaedia Britannica, online; Davies, 1996: 555; Rédey, 1999: 172).

[137] Saltovo culture is the name given by archaeologists to a collection of ethnic groups who resided in the Pontic steppes region from c.750 to the Tenth Century, and is associated with the Khazarian Khaganate (Golden, Ben-Shammai & Róna-Tas, 2007: 221).

Mesterházy described the iron stirrups as 143mm long, 127mm wide and "pear-shaped…with a rectangular strap loop, a narrow arch and a ribbed footplate" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376) but made no comment regarding a place of origin. His inclusion of them in his text in Fodor's *Ancient Hungarians* catalogue suggests he accepted implicitly a Magyar ethnic association for this grave.

Bit and Ring

Érdy described the bit as heavily rusted iron and of the type used on a young horse while differing noticeably in shape from those found in German graves (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate II. 2). He illustrated two rings connected by two straight rods that interconnected by a small loop at one end of each to form a longer straight section (Érdy, 1858: Plate II. 2). Érdy did not describe the ring but his illustration suggested a 25—30mm diameter (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate III.3). Hampel also did not describe the ring but his illustration shows heavy corrosion and a size roughly double that of the nearby iron belt buckle (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 347 Fig. 4, 5). Erdélyi (1978) and Mesterházy (1996a) omitted mention of the bit and ring.

Pulszky (1890: 14) quoted Érdy but omitted his comment regarding the restraining bits found in German graves (Érdy, 1858: 14). Nagy discussed the origin of the style of the equestrian equipment only as a set (Nagy, 1892: 300—301). Hampel described the form and condition of the artefact noting its two central rods interconnected by circular bent sections and the long opposing rods that were also bent into circular sections, with each bent section wrapping around a larger iron ring (Hampel, 1905: 487 Pl. 347 Fig. 3). He noted the damage and welding repair to one ring (Hampel, 1905: 487 Pl. 347 Fig. 3) but, following Pulszky's example, did not discuss the style or usage of the bit or make any ethnicity-related comment. Erdélyi noted the 'ringed' iron bit was 260mm long and formed part of the harnessing equipment (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy described it as "jointed…with an asymmetric mouthpiece and a flat ring at either terminal for the reins" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376).

Buckles

Érdy listed three buckles (Érdy, 1858: 14—15). One iron buckle he illustrated only, depicting it as heavily corroded and round with a central rod connecting the top and bottom of the circle to form the cross-piece of the buckle and measuring 20x15mm (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate II. 4). A second iron buckle was the type used on horse handling equipment (Érdy, 1858: 14) but he did not associate it with any piece of that equipment. That buckle bore two headed nails on the reverse which he surmised were intended to strengthen its attachment to a belt (Érdy, 1858: 14). A rounded section between the two nails supported his contention that the buckle was part of the

equestrian equipment (Érdy, 1858: 14). The third buckle (numbered '8' in his list), was of low-grade silver and bore four small headed nails on its reverse (Érdy, 1858: 15). His illustration showed this round artefact to have been smaller than the circular part of either the ring or earring depicted nearby (Érdy, 1858: Plate III.8).

Pulszky mirrored Érdy's description (Pulszky, 1890: 10, 11). Nagy noted an unspecified number of silver and iron buckles (Nagy, 1892: 301). Hampel described one iron buckle as small with a rusted spike (Hampel, 1905: 487, Fig. 347.4) but was uncertain about the form of the other, noting its missing spine (Hampel, 1905: 487, Fig. 347.5). The third buckle was bronze, not silver, and semi-circular at one end, with recessed strips dividing its surface into geometric and floral motifs (Hampel, 1905: 486). It had a double-cylindrical hinge mechanism, gilding on its obverse and several small 'pins' on its reverse (Hampel, 1905: 486). His ¾ scale illustration showed it to have been about 65mm long (Hampel, 1905: Taf 346.5).

Erdélyi noted the loss of one iron buckle (Erdélyi, 1978: 287) but placed both buckles in the gravepit between the horse bones and skeletal remains (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). He viewed these buckles and the bit as parts of a harnessing set (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). The bronze buckle was 50mm long and its shape and finish were similar to the engravings on some shield-shaped belt mounts found by Popov at Bujlovka in Russia in 1900 (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy agreed the third buckle was cast bronze, not silver, and part of a belt set (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376). He recorded it as 51x19mm in size, trapezoidal, with an ovoid ring and four rivets on its reverse, ornamented with an incised geometric pattern (Mesterházy, 1996a:376).

Strap End

Near the silver buckle Érdy reported a low-grade silver plate with four small headed nails on its reverse and illustrated it as slightly longer and narrower than the buckle plate on the same page (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate III:9). Pulszky echoed Érdy but referred to it as a 'belt-end' (Pulszky, 1890: 11). Nagy described it as a simple, engraved silver belt-end with a ribbon-like motif (Nagy, 1892: 301). Hampel wrote that it was the coverplate of a belt-end and bronze, not silver (Hampel, 1905: 486). It resembled to him the earlier noted buckle plate but was longer and narrower and bore small pins with impressed plates on the reverse (Hampel, 1905: 486). Noting similar gilded 'wells' on its obverse, Hampel stressed the motif was 'exclusively' a geometric pattern (Hampel, 1905: 486). His ¾-scale illustration showed it to be approximately 82mm long (Hampel, 1905: Taf. 346.6).

Erdélyi measured it at 65mm long and noted its engraving was similar to Popov's 'Bujlovka' shield style mounts (noted earlier) in shape and finish (Erdélyi, 1978: 287, 290 Fig. 4). Mesterházy described the plate as cast bronze and measuring 65x15mm (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376). The design comprised "two parallel incised lines on the obverse that form an X on top and enclose a heart motif at the base [with] four rivets on the reverse" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376). He maintained the earlier described buckle plate, this strap end plate and several mounts to be described later, formed the belt set already mentioned (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376).

Ornamental Mounts and Jewellery

A range of artefacts (ornamental mounts and jewellery) appear to have had a primarily decorative purpose. Érdy (1858: 16) noted a similarity for them with both the Benepuszta site (Jankowich, 1835) and another assemblage found in 1853 at Herpály Plain in Bihár County where the artefacts were similarly scattered between the skeletal remains and horse bones (Érdy, 1858: 16).

Twenty—nine ornaments were described collectively as 'mounts' with four design varieties (Érdy, 1858: 14, Plate III.6). Each was of low-grade silver half mixed with copper (Érdy, 1858: 14). On the reverse of each two small headed nails were visible (Érdy, 1858: 14). Some mounts without puncture holes though had three prominent 'nails' on their reverse sides (Érdy, 1858: 14). Pulszky (1890: 10) repeated Érdy's report with only minor spelling variations, reflective of the nationalist-inspired changes in accepted spelling of Magyar words taking place across the Kingdom in the late Nineteenth Century.

Unlike Érdy and Pulszky, later scholars reported the Vereb mounts by individual type, so I follow the same method from here.

Pentagonal Mount with Ring

Hampel initially described a pentagonal-shaped mount with a ring attachment as a piece of jewellery with a motif displaying a lacy border and a three-leafed flower stem on a small pentagonal plate (Hampel, 1904: 121). He later revised that description to an ornamental plate in gilded bronze with an appendage (Hampel, 1905: 485). He noted the centre field of the pentagonal tile was decorated with a 'plant stalk' depicted in relief and comprising small triangular nodules grouped around three obliquely-angled leaves and two further groupings between the leaves (Hampel, 1905: 485). The borders of the pentagon had small bulges at each corner with a central 'bead' in each bulge (Hampel, 1905: 485). A short pin protruded from the pentagon (Hampel, 1905: 485). The underside of the attached ring was flattened (Hampel, 1905:

485, Pl. 346.4). Hampel noted traces of gilding in the recesses on the plate and ring (Hampel, 1905: 485).

Erdélyi described the artefact as a ring pendant, gilded belt mount with a palmette motif and decorated in the Saltovo style imported from the East as a garniture piece (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Measuring 41mm long, Mesterházy described this mount as pentagonal-shaped with a wide ring suspended, of gilded cast bronze and "ornamented with a cinquefoil palmette unique among the Conquest period finds" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375, 376). It had three rivets on its reverse and he claimed it was part of his belt set (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376).

Small Pendant Strap Mounts

Hampel reported and illustrated two small bronze mounts, each of three parts, and faced with a 'ȣ' motif (Hampel, 1905: 486, Pl. 346 Figs. 10 & 11). In a 'gusset' on either side was a small tuber with an ornamented and gilded recess (Hampel, 1905: 486). Two small pins protruded from the underside of the mount (Hampel, 1905: 486).

Erdélyi claimed 31 mounts in two or three styles had been in the original assemblage but that only 29 remained (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). The 'missing' two mounts resembled two small pendant strap mounts he illustrated and referred to as buttons (Erdélyi, 1978: 290 Fig. 4). That illustration showed each button to be slightly longer than 10mm and about 6mm wide (Erdélyi, 1978: 290 Fig. 4). Erdélyi described these very small mounts as unlike other mounts known from finds elsewhere in the Carpathian Basin, intimating they too were of the Saltovo cultural style (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy (1996a: 376) only described them as cast silver and probably adorning a pendant strap.

Small Leaf-Shaped Mounts

Nineteen mounts resembling small leaves in shape Hampel described as decorative plates (Hampel, 1905: 486—487). Seventeen were solid with small headed pins on their reverses (Hampel, 1905: 486—487, Figs.346.12—16; HNM Inv: 21/1853.4 1—17). Two others had openings at their bases and were shield-like in shape with a border design stretching along a flat, convex edge and forming eight curved, impressed lines in a wave-like design on the surface (Hampel, 1905: 486, Figs. 346.8 & 9; HNM Inv: 21/1853.4 18—19). The indented areas were gilded, and each mount had a triangular central 'break' that Hampel surmised was used to attach a hook or small ring for hanging (Hampel, 1905: 486). He deduced these mounts were part of a clasp (Hampel, 1905: 486)

Erdélyi noted the 17 solid mounts were more rounded in shape (Erdélyi, 1978: 287) and the other two measuring 16mm in length were 'broken through' (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy described all 19 as "cast in silver, ornamented with a border of semi-circles enclosing a drop-shaped field in the centre [and showing] traces of gilding…in the incised lines" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376). He noted the solid mounts each bore three reverse-side rivets and the opened ones had two rivets each (Mesterházy, 1996a: 376). Despite noting their different style to the belt buckle and strap end, he maintained they were from the same belt set (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375).

Small Foliate Vertical Mounts

Seven mounts could be described as small 'foliate-style vertical' mounts. Érdy only briefly and collectively described the whole cache of Vereb mounts. However, a disconnected comment later in his report described these very small and narrow mounts, referring to the placement of nails on their reverses as indicating their use on horse strapping equipment, most likely a bridle (Érdy, 1858: 15). He offered as evidence their placement below the equine bones and above the skeleton (Érdy, 1858: 15).

Pulszky (1890: 10—11) repeated Érdy's description but compacted it into one paragraph that suggested Érdy's comment related to the silver buckle and its nearby strap end listed directly before it. However, careful reading of Érdy's text in its original fully-punctuated form, suggested this comment more appropriately related to these small mounts, indicating an editing error in Érdy's text that Pulszky had not recognised.

Hampel described these mounts as ellipsoid decorative plates with a seven-segmented middling edge pattern forming a scale-like leaf shape, with gilding on the indented areas and small reverse-side pins (Hampel, 1905: 487, Pl. 346 Figs. 17—21). Erdélyi noted they were more elongated that most other 'non-Saltovo' mounts and measured 16—19mm in length (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Including these mounts in a photograph of his claimed belt set, Mesterházy described them as "elongated leaf-shaped [and] most likely used as harness ornaments" (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375, Fig. 1) but did not address the issue of their difference in shape and patterning to the small 'belt set' mounts.

Circlets including 'Bangles'

Érdy listed one iron circlet and three open circlets - two of silver (one small, one large) and the other of brass (Érdy, 1858: 14, 15). His illustration suggested the large silver and brass open circlets were bangles and the small silver one was an earring (Érdy, 1858: Plate III.11—13).

Quoting Érdy, Pulszky (1890: 10—12) made several additional and perhaps unintentional changes to those already noted. Firstly, he omitted altogether an 'opened small ring made of silver' (Érdy, 1858: 15) that Érdy listed as item number #12 (Pulszky, 1890: 11). He then quoted Érdy's item number #13 – an opened ring made of brass (Érdy, 1858: 15) - as number #12, adding that it was made of bronze, not brass (Pulszky, 1890: 11).[138] He then moved to item number #14, the arrowheads, omitting the number #13 altogether (Pulszky, 1890: 11). These changes could be indicative of a lack of precision by Pulszky as he made no comment about a change being warranted to the composition of the assemblage.

While Érdy reported four circlets and Pulszky quoted only two, Hampel reported on three in total (Hampel, 1905: 485, Pl. 346 Figs. 1, 2 & 3). The largest was an open-terminalled and smooth-surfaced bracelet of bronze, not silver (Hampel, 1905: 485, Pl. 346 Fig. 1). The second-sized one (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 346 Fig. 2) was a narrow-banded bracelet of sterling silver plate with the band widening slightly towards both open rounded terminals (Hampel, 1905: 485). The third, of unspecified composition, was much smaller and described as a circular wire finger ring with open ends cut straight across (Hampel, 1905: 485, Pl. 346 Fig. 7).

Erdélyi only commented that a silver 'bangle' had been among the Vereb assemblage when found but later lost (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). However, he illustrated a circlet with an opening and terminalled ends that he labelled as a "bracelet" (Erdélyi, 1978: 291 Fig. 6.a.) That illustration showed it to have been the same bracelet as Hampel's large bronze one (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 346 Fig. 1). Erdélyi also illustrated a small circlet labelled as a hair-ring (Erdélyi, 1978: 287, 290 Fig.4). Mesterházy (1996a: 375—376) did not mention a circlet of any type.

I examined and photographed two circlets in the Museum's Vereb assemblage which appeared to be Hampel's larger bracelet and 'finger ring' (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 346 Figs. 1 & 7).

Coins

Érdy reported a hoard of 12 silver coins scattered beside the skeletal remains, each bearing two puncture holes that suggested they had been worn on the deceased's clothing (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate: VI). Érdy claimed all coins in the Vereb assemblage were minted for King Berengar I (888—915) (Érdy, 1858: 15).

Érdy followed Jankowich's example and dated the Vereb burial by its coins to the Conquest-era and then extrapolated a 'pagan' Magyar ethnicity for the deceased (Érdy, 1858: 15). Pulszky only briefly noted the coins as a mix of Berengar I and Pope Sergius III (Pulszky, 1890: 12). Despite

[138] The correct translation of the Magyar word 'sárgarézből' is brass (Magay & Országhi, 2001: 631 'sapka-sarok').

titling his article "A Magyar Pogány Sírleletek" [in English, The Magyar Pagan Grave Finds], Pulszky omitted any discussion of ethnicity for this grave. Nagy followed Pulszky in not discussing ethnicity but also supported the claim of Magyar ethnicity in both his title "A Magyar Pogánykor" [in English, The Magyar Pagan Era] and various references throughout the article (Nagy, 1892: 299—315). Nagy also attributed the 12 coins and their dating to several rulers and popes but without specifying the number for each association. He claimed that these coins, together with others in at least 20 other finds (including Piliny, Neszmély, Csorna, Gödöllö, Szeged-Öthalom, Szeged-Királyhalom and Galgocz) had confirmed the timespan of the Conquest era (Nagy, 1892: 299). Nagy inferred the Vereb burial belonged to the Conquest era and that the burial was Magyar, overlooking the fact that other ethnic groups also resided in the Basin during that period. Hampel described only seven coins (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 348) noting all were punctured in two places (Hampel, 1905: 488) but made no mention of the other five coins.

Erdélyi listed the original hoard as 12 coins and noted their mintage (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Referring to Hampel and Réthy[139] having found only six coins and having added incorrectly to the assemblage a coin minted for Hugo of Provence (Hampel 1905: III. 348), Erdélyi noted that in 1978 the Museum held eight coins (Erdélyi, 1978: 287) but then listed nine (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy noted 12 silver coins found in the chest region, mentioning only their mintage and suggesting they were originally stitched to the garment of the deceased (Mesterházy (1996a: 375). He added the coins "had enabled…the ethnic attribution of the burial" as Magyar (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375).

The coins provided the 'dating markers' used by scholars to associate the Vereb grave with a Conquest era 'Magyar warrior'. If Mesterházy's identification of the coins with particular kings and pontiffs was to be believed, the timespan of the coins extended from the papal reign of Pope Nicholas I (858—867) to the reign of Pope John X (914—928CE). Thus, at a minimum, the skeletal remains could be assumed correctly to have been buried no sooner than sometime after 914CE. This timespan allows for the possibility of the deceased having participated in the Conquest (Mesterházy, 1996a: 375), but does not necessitate it.

The assumption of Magyar ethnicity made by Érdy (1858: 15) and carried on by later scholars was not necessarily supported by the Vereb coins, as the mix of coins could have been acquired by many means including trade, raid or inheritance, and have been in the possession of any person of any ethnicity in the region at that time, as well as having been passed from one

[139] László Réthy (1851-1914) was a curator at the Museum in Hampel's day and according to Fettich assisted Hampel with the preparation of his texts, by delivering the artefacts to him (Fettich, 1937: 68).

individual to another several times. Érdy himself commented that his association of the assemblage with a Magyar ethnicity was based at least in part on Jankowich's 'Magyar' claim for the Benepuszta find. A further contributor may have been his personal desire to support the concurrent nationalistic push within Hungary towards more 'Magyar-ness' - a possibility evidenced in his earlier name-change. As such, his identification of the Vereb deceased as ancient Magyar should have raised some questions among later scholars.

Ring

Érdy reported a silver ring set with a soft white Steatite stone on the right side of the crumbling hand bones of the skeleton (Érdy, 1858: 15, Plate III.10). Pulszky (1890: 11) initially reiterated Érdy's description but at the very end of his article wrote that the stone was dark-coloured Steatite and that, in the silver narrow circular socket, four nodules could be seen (Pulszky, 1890: 12). Nagy (1892: 300) noted the ring but added no further information. Hampel reported the band as bronze, not silver, with four irregularly-spaced nodules on the setting – two each side of the Steatite stone (Hampel, 1905: 485, Pl. 346 Fig. 3). He also noted it as 'open' (Hampel, 1905: 485) although his illustration suggested a breakage rather than a deliberate opening. (Hampel, 1905: Pl. 346 Fig. 3)). Erdélyi commented that a single ring had been among the assemblage but had been lost at some point (Erdélyi, 1978: 287). Mesterházy (1996a) did not mention a ring at all.

Galgocz

Artefacts Assemblage

Rómer first reported the assemblage comprising a sabretache coverplate, several pieces of jewellery and a coin (Rómer, 1869: 105). His second note (Rómer, 1871) provided a little further information. Other artefacts were reported in 18901 by Pulszky as belonging to the Galgocz assemblage but were excluded by later scholars, beginning with Hampel.

Sabretache Coverplate

Rómer described the thin sabretache coverplate as silver wire and shield-shaped, with locking hooks, bearing similarity to the coverplates used by the Hussars of Russia (Rómer, 1869: 105). The leather pouch had been strengthened by rivets and small hooks, while the beaten-out leaf shape of the coverplate was very 'fancy' and measured 127x102mm (Rómer, 1869: 105). Later, Rómer reported gilding on the silver coverplate and that, only after a gilded artefact was

reported by Tivadar Lehoczky from Szolyva (see Chapter 11), did he have the confidence to claim the Galgocz coverplate as gilded (Rómer, 1871: 165—166).

Pulszky described the coverplate as a large, shield-shaped silver plate, characteristically convex and decorated with a trefoil plant motif formed from weaving together four cords, making nine similarly whole and nine semi fields, all wide and short (Pulszky, 1890: 13—14). He noted the fields were gilded and had a complex leaf design, comparing the design also to the Szolyva coverplate (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Nagy suggested the silver plate was a helmet rim piece, not a sabretache coverplate, while also claiming the Szolyva find as evidence for his view (Nagy, 1893: 316). Noting the Galgocz plate was not curved to fit a person's head, he claimed it may have been a decoration only on the helmet (Nagy, 1893: 316).

Hampel comprehensively described the Galgocz plate, noting its flatness, silver composition and embossed foliate decorations (Hampel, 1900: 533). Agreeing with Rómer on its shield-like shape Hampel compared its decoration with the obverse of a Hussar coverplate. Its dimensions he recorded as 130mm on its longest side, 110mm at its greatest width and 95mm wide at its straightest edge (Hampel, 1900: 533). He also noted that the two plates were stacked one atop the other (Hampel, 1900: 533) - the lower slightly larger and of a poorer grade of silver or unknown iron alloy than the thinner upper plate (Hampel, 1900: 533). The etched figures on the upper plate still retained their silver colouring and the recessed fields displayed gilding (Hampel, 1900: 533). The upper plate was framed in silver and pressed down extending over the lower plate, with 22 small pins uniting them (Hampel, 1900: 533).

Hampel described the ornamentation on the plate, particularly the foliate motif and surmised by analogy with the Szolyva find, that the Galgocz plate had decorated the front of a cap or hat (Hampel, 1900: 533—535). He believed the deceased had been a warrior or soldier, despite the absence of weaponry from the assemblage. He noted the palmette motif had 'unmistakable similarities' with ancient Greek and early Sassanid designs (Hampel, 1900: 535) and noted by contrast that, most often, woven tendrils tended to be above the 'Tree of Life' in ancient Assyrian motifs (Hampel, 1900: 535).

Fettich described the manufacturing process for the coverplate motif, noting the recessed fields of the plate had been gilded but were worn away in parts (Fettich, 1937: 77).

Fodor noted the uniqueness of the artefact and praised Rómer for having "correctly guessed" its function as a sabretache coverplate (Rómer, (1869: 105; Fodor, 1996a: 388), despite Rómer admitting later uncertainty over it when the Szolyva assemblage was discovered (Rómer, 1871: 165—166). Fodor noted the function of the plate had been resolved later when other

coverplates with fragments of their leather pouches still attached were found at Bezdéd and Bodrogvécs (Fodor, 1996a: 388).

Fodor described the palmette motif on the obverse of the plate as the work of a "highly skilled craftsman [and] the finest example of the so-called palmette ornamental style of the Conquest period" (Fodor, 1996a: 389). He noted the pattern was common in the period and had appeared on Sogdian wall frescoes in Central Asia (Fodor, 1996a: 389), concluding that the design had been "incorporated into the artistic vocabulary of the ancient Hungarians in their eastern homeland" (Fodor, 1996a: 389). This was only the second time among the reports, that an ethnic or geographic association was attributed to a Galgocz artefact, the first being the suggestion by Rómer (1869: 105) and Hampel (1900: 533) that the coverplate was similar to those of Russian Hussars. Although Fodor was perpetuating the view that the palmette is indicative of the ancient Magyars and their having originated in the East, the many depictions of 'palmettes' across his own 1996 catalogue differ greatly in shape and style, and may indicate multiple manufacturing origins and, possibly, multiple ethnicities.[140]

Fodor, concluded with a general statement that "in the shamanistic beliefs of the ancient Hungarians the palmettes symbolized the Tree of Life" (Fodor, 1996a: 389). He did not explain why a fleshy, three-leaved and tendrilled plant resembling a succulent ground creeper would represent a tree of any form in a region where tall, woody trees were uncommon but not unknown.

Earrings

Rómer described a pair of 'earrings' as Turkish plum-shaped or sized, composed of silver and tin, with gold suspending rings (Rómer, 1869: 105, 1871: 165), and having ornamentation beaten into the metal (Rómer, 1869: 105). However, his ½ scale sketch of one artefact (Rómer, 1871: 165 Fig. 1) possibly indicating an earring may also be interpreted as a bauble for a necklace or a toggle for the end of a long cord.

Pulszky agreed the artefacts were earrings but claimed they were silver (Pulszky, 1890: 13) and not silver-tin alloy. Noting their plum shape, he added with some uncertainty that they were decorated with a trefoil motif (Pulszky, 1890: 13).

Nagy (1892: 316) omitted the earrings. Hampel reported two drop earrings, oval-shaped and longitudinally welded together from an etched decorative plate (Hampel, 1900: 531). He further

[140] See: Fodor, 1996: 32, 33, 69, 78, 81, 84, 86, 100, 108, 118, 125, 126, 140, 158, 167, 174, 179, 180, 187, 203, 243, 278, 283, 304, 338, 346, 352, 385.

noted that each bore a hole on top bordered by a small ring with small nodules protruding from the hole in which a small, closed wire ring fitted, and that each was suspended from a larger open-terminalled plain gold hoop (Hampel, 1900: 531). In the centre of the wider side of the baubles, Hampel observed 'bulbous flowers' within oval frames (Hampel, 1900: 532). Around the top of the frame and fanning out from it were five triangular shapes (Hampel, 1900: 532).

Fettich noted the identical shapes of the baubles were pressed from one sheet of silver and assembled (Fettich, 1937: 77), and that the upper ring was made of gold (Fettich, 1937: 77). He stressed that hammering marks on the artefacts were barely noticeable and suggested skilful workmanship by their maker (Fettich, 1937: 77). Fodor similarly described these artefacts, noting their male wearer had been a "high-ranking male [who demonstrated] that the men of the Conquest period…had a taste for jewellery" (Fodor, 1996a: 390).

No scholar though questioned why silver earrings would be attached to the ears with gold hoops.

Bracelet/s and Neckring

Rómer initially described a heavy woven silver bracelet, measuring 127mm in diameter (Rómer, 1869: 105), though he later described it as either a bracelet or a neckring (Rómer, 1871: 165), comprising six silver entwined wires, with a small coiled section on one side and a bent piece at the end of a flat section on the other (Rómer, 1871: 165). His ½-scale drawing (Rómer, 1871: 165) shows the artefact to be 160mm in diameter at its widest point, making it unlikely to have been an arm bracelet.

In contrast, Pulszky noted two silver-plated bracelets and a neckring or torque of six silver wires woven together having one smooth flat side ending in a flange shape and the other ending in a small twist (Pulszky, 1890: 13). Thus, while Rómer reported only one bracelet or neckring among the assemblage, Pulszky claimed there had been three artefacts. Pulszky also stated that the silver neckring was unlike other neckrings in the National Museum, which were made of bronze and had been woven from two, three or four wires only (Pulszky, 1890: 14).

Nagy compared the Galgocz neckring to others found at various sites, especially at Székesfejérvár-Demkóhegy discovered in 1878 (Nagy, 1892: 302), where the latter was made of bronze, not silver. He nevertheless saw similarities between the two rings and others found at Nemes-Ocsa, Gerendás and Alpár (Nagy, 1892: 302).

Reflecting Pulszky, Hampel (1900: 532) reported on two bracelets and one neckring. He described one bracelet as a plain silver hoop with widened open ends and the hoop bent at the opposite ends to the opening and the other as a narrow, silver hoop, with opened ends – one

broken, the other rounded and bent (Hampel, 1900: 532). He also described their closing mechanisms and some perforations (Hampel, 1900: 532). Hampel measured the greatest inner diameter of the silver neckring as 115mm (Hampel, 1900: 532) and reported that it was largely crafted from two wires laid side by side and wound into a semi-circle with the wires progressively thinning and weaving together more tightly (Hampel, 1900: 532).

Fettich reported that some artefacts had been wrongly identified by Pulszky (1890: 13) and Hampel (1905: 337, 3—4) as belonging to the Galgocz assemblage (Fettich, 1933: 384—385 fn. 4, 1937: 76). He noted that both the first publications by Rómer (1990, 1905) and the Museum's Storage Master were uncertain if these bracelets belonged to the assemblage (Fettich, 1937: 76). He pointed out that the larger bracelet bore a clearly discernible, separate Museum inventory number (Inv. # 1/1874, 137) that was attached to a different collection with an unknown provenance (Fettich, 1937: 76). Therefore, he concluded that the larger bracelet did not belong to the Galgocz assemblage (Fettich, 1937: 77). The inventory number on the smaller silver bracelet had worn away allowing for the possibility that the artefact did belong to the Conquest era but that, as no such artefact had been associated with the Galgocz find before Pulszky's article, it should also be excluded (Fettich, 1937: 77).

Fettich comfortably left the neckring in the assemblage and described it as woven from six silver strands (Fettich, 1937: 77), not the two Hampel had claimed (Hampel, 1900: 532). Noting the strands were woven more thickly at the ends and beaten together at those ends to form the closing parts (Fettich, 1937: 77), he described their hammering as so finely executed that the hammer marks were barely visible (Fettich, 1937: 77).

The description by Fodor was largely an abridged version of Fettich, noting the neckring had been made from "three twists of silver rods, each twist having two strands" (Fodor, 1996a: 390), and that it was thickest at its centre, where the plaiting was looser (Fodor, 1996a: 390). The two terminals tapered towards the middle and were more tightly wound at that point (Fodor, 1996a: 390). The open ends had been flattened with one end coiled and the other forming a hook-shape (Fodor, 1996a: 390).

Coin

Rómer reported a silver coin initially as measuring one 'finger' in diameter (Rómer, 1869: 105). It bore Sanskrit writing which he recognised from "Vámbéry's writings on Tartar figures" (Rómer, 1869: 105). He sought the assistance of József Karabaček to identify the coin. Karabaček determined the coin was minted c.918—919CE (or the year 306 in the Arabic calendar) during the reign of the Transcaucasian Samanid ruler Emir Nasr ben Ahmed (913/4—942/3) (Karabaček,

1870: 117). He also detailed three inscriptions on the obverse that comprised a prayer to Allah and an inscription on the reverse that identified and lauded Nasr ben Ahmed (Karabaček, 1870: 117). Karabaček declared his belief that this was the first time a Samanid coin had been found in Hungary but that in the Tenth Century Samanid money was a world trading currency and large quantities were carried across Northern Europe and Russia to Western Europe (Karabaček, 1870: 117—118). Therefore, it was only natural in his view for some pieces to be found in Hungary (Karabaček, 1870: 118).

Pulszky repeated the association of the coin with Nasr ben Ahmed and the reference by Karabaček to Samanid coins as a Tenth Century world currency (Karabaček, 1871: 118, Pulszky, 1890: 13). From these he claimed that the coin indicated the deceased had died in 942 (Arabic year 331) (Pulszky, 1890: 13) at the end of Nasr ben Ahmed's reign (Karabaček, 1870: 117). The hole in the coin he deduced as meaning the coin was used decoratively, not as currency (Pulszky, 1890: 13).

Nagy only noted its minting in Samarkand for Emir Nasr ben Ahmed c.918/919 (Nagy, 1892: 299-300). Hampel (1900: 531) reiterated the description by Karabaček (1870: 117—118), but omitted Pulszky's conclusions about a decorative use for the coin and the year of death for the deceased as 942 (Pulszky, 1890: 13). Instead, he confined his comments to noting the coin was in relatively good condition and that a fault in it most probably had occurred during minting (Hampel, 1900: 531). Hampel noted and illustrated the coin with a hole near one edge, the outer rim of which had broken off (Hampel, 1905: 337, Fig. 1).

Fettich repeated Hampel's description including the minting fault and the hole with the broken edge but omitted the prayer inscription dedicated to the Islamic deity (Fettich, 1937: 77). Whether the latter omission was intentional, or an oversight, is unknown. However, his meticulous approach to other aspects of his text and his criticisms of inaccuracies by Hampel and Pulszky suggest he made a conscious decision to exclude the prayer.

The prayer inscription first was quoted again almost 60 years later, when Fodor provided an English translation (Fodor, 1996a: 390). It is uncertain whether this late reintroduction was coincidental or not. However, the little that was published about the Galgocz assemblage in the intervening years tended to focus on other artefacts in the assemblage, especially the sabretache coverplate and its palmette motif (e.g. Dienes, 1972: 66).

Other Artefacts Claimed for the Assemblage

In his 1890 article, Pulszky added several artefacts to the Galgocz assemblage that did not appear in Rómer's reporting (1869, 1871) or in Karabaček's 1870 brief report. These included one round stirrup and an iron bit decorated with silver rivets (Pulszky, 1890: 13). Hampel later claimed Pulszky had erred in attaching them to the assemblage (Hampel, 1900: 531) but offered no explanation for why Pulszky had done so.

Fettich agreed with Hampel regarding the error by Pulszky but added the two silver bracelets discussed earlier to this group of 'non-Galgocz' artefacts (Fettich, 1937: 76, 77). Fodor later agreed with Fettich in excluding these artefacts and the two bracelets (Fodor, 1996a: 388—390). These other artefacts were not among the assemblage when examined.

Anarcs Find 1

Grooved Bronze Fragment

This artefact was not reported by Rómer, though Hampel briefly mentioned it in his text (Hampel, 1900: 586—587). It was not among the examined assemblage.

Palmette Ornamented Buckle Plate or Belt Strap-end

Rómer reported on three belt 'buckles' that resembled artefacts found beside the Vereb warrior (Érdy, 1858: 15; Fodor, 1996b: 127) and which may have originated in the Tenth Century (Rómer 1870: 225) or specifically the Conquest-era (Fodor, 1996b: 127). Hampel described one artefact, not three, as a belt strap-end of low-grade silver with a flower motif and three pins on the underside (Hampel, 1900: 586—587). He later referred to it as a buckle plate and that from its underside three small tiles rose to form three pins (Hampel, 1905: 509). Jósa characterised this artefact as a buckle plate (Jósa, 1958: 151—153) but did not mention the other two. Fodor only noted the buckle plate ornamented with a palmette (Fodor, 1996b: 127) in the assemblage presented by Czóbel to the Museum. No further information was available on the other two buckles reported by Rómer.

Heart-shaped Belt Mounts

Rómer (1870) did not report any mounts. However, Hampel reported two heart-shaped objects of low-grade silver with floral motifs he described as a lilium and gilding in their central parts, each bearing four rivets (Hampel, 1900: 586—587). Pulszky (1891) and Nagy (1892) did not mention any mounts. A century later Fodor noted two silver gilt belt mounts and described them as "ornamented with a palmette design" (Fodor (1996b: 127).

Bronze Clasp Pin or Hook Link

Another artefact not reported by Rómer, but included by Hampel, was described initially as a bronze clasp pin (Hampel, 1900: 587) but was revised later to a hook link of a bronze handle (Hampel, 1905: 509). No later scholar mentioned it.

Adze

Rómer reported a socketed adze with a raised front bit similar to one found at Pap (Rómer, 1870: 225). Later reports made no mention of this tool.

Arrowheads

A bronze arrow was reported which Rómer considered as showing a strong resemblance to artefacts found at Vereb (Érdy, 1858: 15; Rómer, 1870: 225). From this, he deduced that the find may have originated in the Tenth Century (Rómer, 1870: 225).

Hampel reported only one three-edged arrowhead which he claimed was similar in style to some found in Scythian graves and at Monaj and Szirmabesenye in Hungary (Hampel, 1900: 587). He later revised the quantity to an unspecified number of three-edged small arrowheads (Hampel, 1905: 509). Later reports omitted mention of any weaponry in the assemblage and no arrowhead was among the assemblage when examined.

Granulated Lunular Pendant with 5-Pointed Star

Not reported by Rómer, Hampel (1900: 586—587) was the first to comment on this artefact, describing it as a piece of bronze jewellery displaying a crescent and a five-pointed star (Hampel, 1900: 586—587; 1905: 509).

Dienes (1961: 166—171) later argued that this pendant belonged to the Anarcs 1 assemblage and that the design of the pendant suggested an eastern Slavic manufacture (Dienes, 1961: 166—171). Fodor later claimed that Dienes had “convincingly demonstrated” (Fodor, 1996b: 127) his case for its inclusion in the assemblage. Archaeologist Eszter Istvánovits, however, refuted the Slavic association claiming more recent studies had shown the pendant to have had a Byzantine origin (Istvánovits, 2003: 16). The report by Dienes could not be accessed during the fieldwork and later online searches also proved fruitless, so the validity of his argument could not be assessed.

Anarcs Find 2

Artefacts Assemblage

As the 1958 compilation of earlier articles by Jósa could not be sourced during the fieldwork and is unavailable online, its contents could not be perused for further information. However, Fodor noted in 1996 that the assemblage had comprised: "a pair of silver gilt braid ornaments engraved with the design of the Tree of Life...two discs [and] a pair of small stirrups, subsequently lost [and] a coin...allegedly") (Fodor, 1996b: 128).

Ornamented Disc

Hampel restricted his first report to the ornamented disc and noted that it was made of thin silver-plate, measured 6.8cm across and showed signs of once having been connected to another disc with rivets, some of which he observed as still intact on its reverse side (Hampel, 1902: 297—298). His description focussed primarily on the obverse palmette motif which he described as resembling the motifs on the sabretache coverplates found earlier at Galgocz and another site, Tarczal (Hampel, 1902: 297—298). He noted that the upper palmette more closely resembled the Galgocz motif and that its blooms mostly appeared to be opening (Hampel, 1902:297—298). He compared favourably the disc's motif with foliage decoration on other artefacts attributed to the Conquest era (Hampel, 1902:297—298).

In his second report in 1904, Hampel again compared the disc to the Galgocz and Tarczal coverplates and another found at Beregszász (today Beregovo, Ukraine) (Hampel, 1904: 108). He accounted for differences in their motifs by concluding there were two phases of palmette style but gave no explanation for why this might have been the case. Hampel then more closely compared the Anarcs 2 disc's motif with a six-leafed palmette motif on an artefact found at Bezdéd despite the difference in leaf numbers and noted that similarity was greater than with the motifs on the trefoil palmettes found on artefacts from Szolyva and Bodrogvécs. In 1914, Jósa (1914: 178) briefly mentioned the silver disc as found with other artefacts in the one grave and reported initially by Hampel in 1902 together with an iron dart from a roasting oven and a pair of small women's leg stirrups (Hampel, 1902: 297—298). Fettich 'corrected' the description of the disc by Hampel (1905: 622), noting that it had not been broken through but that the whole top section was closed (Fettich, 1937: 83). The pattern on the disc was of a quality as good as that on the best sabretache coverplates, the deep lines were scored, and the disc had been incised with a nail (Fettich, 1937: 83).

Fodor (1996b: 128) also noted that: “According to Andrew Jósa’s notes, the disc was found resting on the chest of the skeleton, suggesting that the deceased was a young girl, for the custom among the nomadic peoples was that girls braided their hair into one braid, while married women braided their hair into two braids.” He added that the ‘custom’ of tying hair into one or two braids “was most likely also widespread among the ancient Hungarians of the Conquest period [and] survived into the 20th century among the Hungarians in Slavonia”) (Fodor, 1996b: 128).

Stirrups

Jósa briefly mentioned a pair of leg stirrups suitable for a small woman that had been found in the grave with the silver disc and iron dart (Jósa, 1914: 178). However, Hampel had not mentioned either the iron dart or the stirrups in his earlier reports (Hampel, 1902: 297—298, 1904: 105—112, 1905: 509), so Jósa’s reference is only the first published reference to them. Fettich mentioned and illustrated the stirrups, noting they were found with the disc (Fettich, 1937: 83, Plate LXVII). Seemingly unaware of their earlier mention by Jósa (1914: 178), he incorrectly claimed they had not appeared in earlier literature (Fettich, 1937: 83). The lack of more detailed commentary on the stirrups by either Hampel or Fettich suggests that each may have considered their provenance uncertain coupled with the stirrups’ lack of uniqueness in appearance as an undeserving prospect for further investigation. The braid ornament was passed on to the local museum in Nyiregyháza (now called the Jósa András Múzeum).

Szolyva

Charcoal and Pottery

Lehoczky reported charcoal and burnt pottery fragments in the soil above the ‘Magyar’ grave in Trench 1 (Lehoczky, 1870: 201) and concluded the mound had been exploited earlier by treasure hunters (Lehoczky, 1870: 201). He reported the fragments as red and black and of varying thicknesses and claimed initially that they were tiles (Lehoczky, 1870: 204) but later that they were pottery fragments, noting also a ‘greenish’ coloured one among them (Lehoczky, 1881: 114).

Pulszky described reddish, black or green pottery fragments (Pulszky, 1890: 14) but did not comment on their possible form or function. Hampel only reiterated Lehoczky that they were found in the earth above the body (Hampel, 1905: 591).

Fettich noted red and black, not green, pottery fragments of various thicknesses in the earth above the deceased (Fettich, 1937: 78). He commented that one unspecified fragment had been scratched with a pointed wedge tool (Fettich, 1937:78). Noting Lehoczky's assertion that these fragments were above the grave and he had dug further to reach the burial, Fettich concluded that the grave had been dug into a prehistoric settlement mound (Fettich, 1937: 77—78; Fodor, 1996: 175). Fodor (1996c: 175) noted only that Lehoczky had mentioned lumps of charcoal and coarse vessel fragments.

Sword or Sabre and Scabbard

Lehoczky described a 900mm long, light Magyar 'sword' in the remains of a scabbard, positioned left of the cranium (Lehoczky, 1870: 204). He described its slight central curve, 45mm width at the grip and 38mm width below that but did not call it a sabre, while insisting on the curvature of its blade (Lehoczky, 1877: 274, 1881: 113, 1886: 380). He also noted its leather-covered wooden hilt with a transverse bar 152mm long and downward curved ends (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1886: 380). Later, he described the weapon as 950mm long with the curve of the blade at 180mm long and the hilt strengthened by a 50mm transverse bar (Lehoczky, 1881: 113).

Lehoczky noted the small wooden scabbard 'end piece' measured 51mm wide and was bound with linen and leather decorated with '⊙' shaped white dots on a black background (Lehoczky, 1870: 204). In some places the casing was decorated with thin silver plating and he had great difficulty removing the 'straw-paper' thin shreds from the grave (Lehoczky, 1870: 204). Eleven years later, he described this intact end piece as 52.5mm wide, its canvas covering overlain with leather into which 'forget-me-not' flower shapes had been woven on a black background and that he could successfully remove this section (Lehoczky, 1881: 113).

Lehoczky (1877: 274—276) also refuted a claim by historian Ferencz Salamon that Magyar swords historically were a particular shape and length (Salamon, 1877: 774), claiming no positive data existed to support Salamon's argument (Lehoczky 1877: 274). Lehoczky stressed that the Szolyva 'sword', which Salamon had claimed as straight-bladed (Salamon, 1877: 774), had been so damaged in transit to the Museum that he did not recognise it when he first saw it in the display cabinet (Lehoczky 1877: 274, 1886: 380). He noted he had sketched and measured the weapon when he found it and recorded that information in his diary (Lehoczky, 1877: 274). Using his diary notes, Lehoczky repeated that the weapon had been slightly curved downwards from its middle section, measured 900mm long in its pre-damaged state and was 45mm wide near the grip (Lehoczky 1877: 274). Below the grip, the blade apparently had been finely wrought and

was nearly 39mm thick, lying also within a 39mm wide 'wooden casing' (Lehoczky, 1877: 274). Two iron rings suggested the 'sword' had been suspended from a short 'double' belt (Lehoczky, 1877: 275). Four years later, Lehoczky wrote that the sword was rusted, and its wooden scabbard had completely decayed (Lehoczky, 1881: 113). For the first time, he also claimed he had packed flat stones around the weapon to protect it from damage while he widened the trench (Lehoczky, 1881: 113).

Pulszky later only noted a heavily rusted and fragmented 'sword' for Trench 1 (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Nagy commented that the fragmentation of the 'sword' meant its slightly curved, single-edged blade was known only from Lehoczky's notes (Nagy, 1892: 299—315), omitting mention of the scabbard. Hampel referred to the iron 'sword' as described by Lehoczky (1870: 204), noting extensive corrosion and that its decayed wooden sheath lay in a thin clay layer near the skeletal remains, with its tip oriented to the West (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589, 591).

Fodor described the sabre as 950mm long with an 180mm long grip that curved "slightly towards the cutting edge, with the knob-terminalled cross-bar at its base" (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Citing Lehoczky (1870: 204) he added that Lehoczky's drawing suggested "the scabbard was ornamented with a thin silver sheet at its mouth, its centre and the chape, probably at the junction of the suspension straps" (Fodor, 1996c: 176). However, Fodor cast doubt Lehoczky's interpretation of the rings found with the scabbard, noting Lehoczky had assumed only two suspension rings but that the iron rings near the waist were associated with them (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Citing Lehoczky further on the good condition of the scabbard remains (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1886: 380), Fodor emphasised that an iron chape from the scabbard with cloth remains attached had survived into his time (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Dagger or Small Sword and Scabbard

Lehoczky reported the remains of an elongated single-edged knife or dagger measuring 152x19mm near the human right hip (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1886: 380). He later revised that measurement to 160x15mm (Lehoczky, 1881: 114).

Found inside a wooden scabbard decorated with thin, brown, glass-like beads, the weapon had deteriorated to such an extent that only its edge remained enclosed by it (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1881: 114). Lehoczky could extract only a single small piece of the sheaf from the damp clay (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1881: 114). The remaining shape could be discerned only from a rusted impression in the soil (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1881: 114).

Describing it as a curved and narrow, single-edged blade, Pulszky (1890: 14) wrote that this knife or dagger was analogous to a find made by Adorján Végh at Nemes-Ócsa in 1881 (Végh, 1881: 132). Hampel briefly mentioned this single-edged weapon and its sheath adorned with thin, brown, glassy beads, noting its heavy corrosion meant that only the blade tip and open end of the sheath could be discerned in the wet clay (Hampel, 1905: 400). His mention of the wet clay suggests Hampel only cited Lehoczky's report but did not examine the weapon himself.

Citing Lehoczky (1870: 204), Fettich agreed with the placement of this weapon and its beaded, wooden scabbard remains (Fettich, 1937: 78) but saw errors in the report by Hampel regarding the quantity of swords in Trench 1 (Hampel, 1905: 401—402; Fettich, 1937: 77; Fodor, 1996c: 177). Stressing Lehoczky (1870: 201—206, 1877: 274—276) did not mention a second sword, Fettich maintained that Hampel had confused the Museum's inventory numbers (Fettich, 1937: 77, 78; Fodor, 1996c: 177) and the second sword (HNM Inv. 275/1871.30) correctly belonged to an Avar collection found at Tóti-Puszta (Rómer, 1872: 16; Fettich, 1937: 78). To explain Hampel's 'error' (Hampel, 1900: 588, 1905 III: 401-402), Fettich noted the transverse bar had already disintegrated when Hampel reported and that without that bar Hampel had wrongly viewed it as a second weapon (Fettich, 1937: 78).

Fodor noted first Lehoczky's (1870: 204) claim of finding the weapon and its beaded scabbard, and then the claim by Fettich (1937: 78) about Hampel's confusion over the 'Avar sword' from Tóti-Puszta. He claimed that Fettich also had erred in failing to recognise Lehoczky's drawing of "the sword from Szolyva" (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Sabretache Coverplate

Lehoczky (1870: 203) collected the remnants of a green-rusted woven piece of silver plate. He noted the plate was near the cranium, beside which lay the equine skull (Lehoczky, 1877: 275). His initial report notes felt shreds and fur pieces had been found that originally were black but had browned over time from iron rust in the grave (Lehoczky, 1870: 203). Measuring 127x116mm, Lehoczky claimed the plate had been riveted to the fur headcover like the hats of roadworkers in his day (Lehoczky, 1877: 275) which suggested to him that the warrior had worn it above his forehead (Lehoczky, 1886: 380). He noted gold-leafed 'arabesques' decorating the fragment and a coronate motif beaten into it at its lower section (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). Archaeologist Ödön Boncz though claimed the artefact was part of a Slovak 'puzdra' or Magyar 'tegez' (Boncz, 1886: 201).

Refuting Boncz's assertion, Lehoczky insisted that Boncz had not read his report on the assemblage nor any earlier report on the Galgocz find (Lehoczky, 1886: 380). Lehoczky emphasised the Szolyva and Galgocz plates were adjacent in the display cabinet at the Museum and their differences were readily observable (Lehoczky, 1886: 379—380), insinuating Boncz had not viewed them. Lehoczky repeated that he had personally removed the pieces from the grave and had found shreds of felt with them that substantiated his claim for a cap (Lehoczky, 1886: 380).

Pulszky noted that, unlike the Galgocz coverplate, the Szolyva plate motif had been etched into the metal and from a distance suggested a flying bee (Pulszky, 1890: 14). He noted that no impression of armour, a shield or helmet was found in the gravepit soil (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Hampel paraphrased Lehoczky on the plate decorating a cap rim without further comment (Hampel, 1900: 704).

Fettich noted similarities between the palmette motif on the Szolyva, Galgocz and Bodrogvécs coverplates with artefacts found along the Volga-Kama and Don-Dnieper river regions (Fettich, 1935: 14—15). He wrote that some metalwork at that time was crafted with designs suggesting raw materials, such as textiles, wood and bone carvings, and considered the Szolyva coverplate to be a prime example of that style (Fettich, 1935: 15). Fettich described the plate as 106x125mm in size and highlighted differences in the technical execution of the ornamentation of the Szolyva, Galgocz and Bodrogvécs finds, noting especially that the Szolyva design was flat, unlike the embossed designs on the other two (Fettich, 1937: 78). Fettich determined the Szolyva design had been hand-drawn onto the plate and then beaten into it using short, sharp strokes to deepen the lines of the palmette motif, with small dots added to densely fill the gaps between the palmette leaves, which made the design unique (Fettich, 1937: 78). He noted heavy gilding on the background, although some had rubbed off exposing the underlying silver (Fettich, 1937: 78). A top fringe curtained the design and the whole structure was nailed together (Fettich, 1937: 78). The felt and leather fragments on which Lehoczky had based the plate's function as a cap or hat rim piece (Lehoczky, 1877: 276) Fettich regarded as forming a felt and leather pouch, in line with his broader view of the plate being a sabretache coverplate (Fettich, 1937: 78). (Fettich, 1937: 78).

Dienes described the artefact as a richly gilded, silver sabretache coverplate with cast metal tassels mounted at its upper edge and measuring 125x113mm and viewed the motif as "infinitely extendable bunches of palmettes" (Dienes, 1972: 87). Fodor depicted the plate as silver gilt and slightly bent but disputed the 'cap/hat' claim by Lehoczky (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Like

Dienes, Fodor assessed it as a sabretache coverplate with a "fluted ribbon border [and the] heads of the five silver rivets modelled on palmettes" (Fodor, 1996c: 177).

Agreeing further with Dienes, Fodor compared the Szolyva plate to the slightly larger but narrower Galgocz coverplate (Fodor, 1996a: 389). He described the Szolyva motif as an arrangement of trefoil palmettes into three vertical rows forming a reticulated pattern, the pre-drawn lines then chased with a tracer, and the flat design of repetitive, interlinked palmettes (Fodor, 1996c: 177). In the spaces between the palmettes' horizontal and upright leaves he found dense hatching with punched dots at the inward twirling tips of the palmettes and vein-lines, with the latter of the horizontal leaves frequently ending with three dots (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Fodor compared this 'three-dots' design to the work of an unspecified Sogdian workshop in Central Asia and suggested it as a possible source for Conquest-era art (Fodor, 1996c: 177).

Noting the 'tassel' fringe on the Szolyva plate that Fettich (1937: 78) and Dienes (1972: 87) had previously described, Fodor depicted it as a "row of imitation hanging tassels at the top, with four cast silver mounts of three 'tassels' and one-half of a 'tassel' mount...riveted to the ribbon border" (Fodor, 1996c: 177). He concluded that the pouch had been made of felt, not leather, and that Lehoczky's 'erroneous' assertion of the plate as a finial for a felt cap may have been based on the same assumption.

Despite similarities in their size and design, Fodor noted the difference in quality of workmanship between the Szolyva and Galgocz coverplates (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Acknowledging Conquest-era 'purses' were not ornamented with 'expensive' metal mounts or plates (Fodor, 1996c: 177), he attributed the elaborate fringing design on the Szolyva plate to an ancient artisan's desire to replicate the "appliqué ornament of leather purses [and thereby preserve] the spirit and artistry of Conquest period leatherwork" (Fodor, 1996c: 177). Fodor also noted that: "Most scholars of western Siberian archaeology agree that the Sargatka culture[141], dated to between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, could be plausibly identified with the proto-Hungarians" (Fodor, 1996e: 13)

[141] The Sargatka culture is a name used by some scholars to describe an undefined variety of people who lived in the Steppes region during the period when the Magyar people were still resident there. Scholars such as István Fodor viewed the Sargatka culture as including the proto-Magyar people, before the commencement of their migration westwards to the Carpathian Basin. A number of texts have been written on the subject, with one article published online, that provides a brief but informative summary of the literature, mostly by Russian and Hungarian writers on the subject (Erdélyi & Benkő, 2009: 17-31).

Buckles

Lehoczky reported a 76x39mm iron buckle across the human chest, later amending those measurements to a slightly larger 80x41.3mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275). From its position in the ground he deduced it most probably had been part of a belt suspended from a Slovak puzdra as belt and wooden fragments could still be seen on it (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 114). At the deceased's waist, he noted a second iron buckle under the sword's two circlets (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), adding it had been attached to the scabbard belt's two rings from which the 'sword' had been suspended (Lehoczky, 1877: 275, 1881: 114).

Hampel reported two iron buckles, one on the deceased's chest still bearing wood and leather fragments and the other associated with the sword's scabbard having had two attached rings (Hampel, 1905: 590). Fettich omitted, perhaps unintentionally, mention of a buckle (Fettich, 1937: 77.78). Fodor (1996c: 176—177) included the two buckles in his catalogue, paraphrasing Lehoczky's description (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 205).

Iron Fragments

Near one stirrup on the right of the human leg bones, Lehoczky reported iron fragments he assumed were part of a disintegrated saddle (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114). He also reported fragments of indiscernible corroded iron (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114). However, he described one fragment as 55mm wide and 'horseshoe-shaped' (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114) and the other as 55mm long, with a prominent 20mm long spike-like shape he perceived to be a spur (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114). He later revised his assessments of these fragments, noting the 'horseshoe-shaped' fragment as slightly longer at 60mm and the 'spur' as 25mm thick and resembling a 'bayonet' (Lehoczky, 1881: 114).

Hampel mentioned these fragments with wood fibres adhered and suggested they may have been part of the missing saddle (Hampel, 1905: 590). He described the 'horseshoe-shaped' and 'bayonet' fragments and viewed the other fragments as shapeless (Hampel, 1905: 590).

Fettich (1937: 77—78) omitted these smaller iron fragments. Fodor (1996c: 175) noted Lehoczky had mentioned several iron fragments with wood remnants attached and accepted his description of a 60mm wide "horseshoe-shaped iron" (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114), suggesting it had been either a suspension loop for the quiver or part of the claimed wooden saddle (Fodor, 1996c: 175—176). Fodor noted its deposition was "in the eastern half of the coffin, above the feet of the deceased" (Fodor, 1996c: 175).

Fodor (1996c: 176) noted Lehoczky's 'spike-shaped', later 'bayonet-shaped', fragment (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114) but disagreed about his interpretation of the 'spur', insisting "the Hungarians of the Conquest period, riding their horses in nomadic fashion, did not use [spurs]" (Fodor, 1996c: 176). He further insisted that no spurs had been found in Conquest-era graves (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Instead, Fodor considered the artefact to be a quiver mount from the absent quiver (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Wooden Planks

At a depth of 1.5m, where the soil was much darker, Lehoczky reported an impression in the damp clay of brown lines indicating a decayed plank had disintegrated to 'ashes' (Lehoczky, 1870: 201, 1881: 112) suggesting it had been burnt, but did not speculate on its composition or thickness. Hampel reported the depth of the find as higher in the ground, first at 0.9m below the surface (Hampel, 1900: 704) and later at 1.13m (Hampel, 1905: 588), sitting in a 102mm thick layer of blackened soil (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 588).

From the size and shape of the soil impression, Lehoczky suggested the deceased had lain on a plank measuring 1800x450mm wide (Lehoczky, 1870: 203—204; Nagy, 1893: 226). Hampel recorded the plank as larger at 2000x 500mm (Hampel, 1905: 589). Fodor instead recorded a size of 1900x480mm (Fodor, 1996c: 175). At first glance, these differences may seem small. However, their significance is that by making the plank larger Hampel was allowing for it to more easily accommodate a body of around 1800mm tall and reasonably broad-shouldered, and therefore more impressive in stature than Lehoczky's estimate. Fodor appeared uncertain as to which earlier scholar to support and therefore took a middle path between them.

Lehoczky reported a second plank made of oak and bearing minute traces of rust (Lehoczky, 1870: 205). His description suggests it had been in contact with some small corroded metallic objects, probably iron rivets or nails. Lehoczky did not provide the size and shape of this second plank or comment on why it, unlike the first plank, apparently had not been burnt. Had these planks had been associated with each other, perhaps as parts of a large box or coffin, it would seem probable that they would have received the same treatment.

Nagy disputed the 'coffin-burial' premise (Nagy, 1893: 226). Comparing the placement of the first plank with other gravesites where planks had been found, he noted that only Szolyva and Nagy-Teremia sites had been reported with 'coffin-like' remains (Nagy, 1893: 226). The Nagy-Teremia plank had been pierced with silver-headed nails, indicating a casket there (Nagy, 1893: 226). Nagy pointed out that Lehoczky (Lehoczky, 1870: 201, 203—205; 1881: 112) had not

claimed a coffin-burial in his reports. He (Nagy, 1893: 226) also noted that Baron Jenő Nyáry had found a 'plank' at the Piliny site but had considered that 'plank' to be the remains of a shield (Nyáry, 1873: 17). While at an Eleventh Century gravesite at Alpár, a decayed wooden board had been found with textile remains still attached that suggested a casket with a material lining (Nagy, 1893: 226).

Fodor declared the presence of the two planks supported the 'coffin' premise (Fodor, 1996c: 175). However, such a burial form does not fit with the accepted view of an ancient Magyar burial as proto-typed by Jankowich's Benepuszta find or the later finds at Vereb, Galgocz and Bezdéd.

Sandstone Slab

Lehoczky noted the skull was on a 300mm long block of common sandstone (Lehoczky, 1870: 204) but later amended its size to 320mm and that the head had been under the stone (Lehoczky, 1881: 114). Later still, he reverted to his original contention that the skull had lain on a flat stone slab, as if it were a pillow (Lehoczky, 1892: 129).

Hampel noted the block of common sandstone as lying 333mm above the cranium (Hampel, 1905: 591), suggesting that he agreed with Lehoczky's 1881 text in this regard, but either overlooked or disregarded Lehoczky's initial excavation report of 1870 and his 1892 reversion to the slab being below the head. Fettich agreed with Hampel (Fettich, 1937: 78). Nagy also saw the sandstone block as above the head but commented that its placement was analogous to a Cumanian practice of placing a sandstone pillar above a grave (Nagy, 1893: 225), inferring thereby that the Szolyva grave may have held a Cumanian warrior, not a Magyar one. Fodor took Lehoczky's initial excavation report as the more reliable (Fodor, 1996c: 176) but omitted mention of the opposing views by Hampel (1905: 591) and Fettich (1937: 78) that the slab had been above the cranium.

The vacillation by Lehoczky over the placement of this slab and the seeming need for later scholars to takes sides in the issue, suggests an underlying and, perhaps reluctant, indecision by the scholars to identify the burial as a Magyar grave of the Conquest era. As asserted by Fodor, saddles or their impressions, rather than bulky stone slabs, appear occasionally under the heads of Conquest -era deceased, as in grave 8I at Bezdéd (Fodor, 1996d: 181).

Arrowheads or Iron Stiffening Mounts & Quiver End Fragment

Lehoczky reported six iron arrows in a pile near the right shoulder of the deceased (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1881: 113, 1886: 380) and that he safely gathered up the fragments of their wooden tangs (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1881: 113). Later scholars echoed Érdy on that number (Pulszky, 1890: 14; Hampel, 1905: 590; Fettich, 1937: 77—78; Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Lehoczky reported three arrowheads of foliate shape, later described as willow-leaf shape, with the lowest in the pile being 39x76mm and later revised to 43.3x83.3mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 113). The two arrowheads above it were smaller, initially approximately 20x57mm and later revised to 20x60mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 113). He noted the tips had been manufactured so that the sharpened ends made from broken pieces were inserted almost 17mm into the shafts (later halved to 8.8mm) and were secured with gilded 4mm copper wire wound once around (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 113). The join had been strengthened by a rope 25mm wide, the clear impression of which was visible on the shaft, together with two rusted fragments initially recorded as 134mm long but later revised to 140mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275, 1881: 113).

Pulszky wrote that one of six arrows still bore a wicker fragment and a leather strap attached for strength (Pulszky, 1890: 14), differing significantly to Lehoczky's claim of a gilded copper wire used for the binding (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1881: 113). This difference raises the question of whether Pulszky was viewing the same arrowheads as Lehoczky had reported. Making no reference to Pulszky's article, Hampel noted the six arrowheads but did not comment on their composition or securement (Hampel, 1905: 590). Fettich only noted six arrowheads and a quiver from Trench 1 (Fettich, 1937: 77—78).

Adopting the initial description by Lehoczky, Fodor noted the six arrowheads and that three were leaf-shaped, while the others were narrower with some arrowhead tangs still holding fragments of their wooden hafts (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Agreeing with Lehoczky, Fodor claimed these hafts had been secured to the arrowheads by narrow copper strips wound around their upper part at the points where the tangs were inserted (Fodor, 1996c: 176). He then diverged from all earlier reports by claiming that instead of arrowheads these 'iron rods' may have been "the spike terminalled iron stiffening mounts from [a] quiver" (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Lehoczky also described another artefact (Inv. 148/1870. 14) as an arrowhead (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 275), which Fodor also saw as an iron stiffening mount for a quiver (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Lehoczky saw no actual remains or impression of a quiver but assumed the arrowheads had been kept in a canvas quiver (Lehoczky, 1877: 275, 1881: 113, 1886: 380). No complete quiver was among the examined assemblage and early scholars other than Lehoczky did not mention it in their reports. However, given his claim about iron stiffening mounts, Fodor felt sufficiently confident to claim the position of a quiver within the grave "could be definitely reconstructed" (Fodor, 1996c: 176). Presumably based on the position of the arrows, Fodor placed the absent quiver on the right side of the skeletal remains with its opening oriented North (Fodor, 1996c: 176). He noted the "upper part [of the quiver] was in line with the shoulder, while its lower part lay beside the legs" (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Bracelet

A 76mm thick silver circlet was reported by Lehoczky (Inv. HNM 148/1870.6), though Fodor listed it as HNM 148/1870.7 (Fodor, 1996c: 178). Lehoczky noted its diameter as 43.3mm and thickness as 6.6mm, adding it was unsoldered and 'springy' (Lehoczky, 1881: 113). Claiming it had secured the end of the absent quiver, he found traces of linen fabric which he suggested had formed part of the quiver's outer covering (Lehoczky, 1877: 275, 1881: 113).

Hampel described the artefact initially as a plated bangle (Hampel, 1900: 709) but then as a sterling silver plated bracelet (Hampel, 1905b: 594), noting on both occasions that it widened towards the rounded terminal ends (Hampel, 1900: 709, 1905, II: 594).

Fettich mentioned two low-grade silver bracelets near the right shoulder of the deceased (Fettich, 1937: 77). Fodor described one as a plain penannular bracelet 63mm across with rounded terminals and used to gather the wide sleeve of a garment, a view he deduced from textile impressions he perceived on its inner surface (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Silver-Plate and Button

Lehoczky reported a cast and gilded silver plate 263x8.8mm in size and 1mm thick (Lehoczky, 1881: 114). Positioned near the waist of the deceased, he suggested it had been attached, possibly nailed, to the deceased's suit (Lehoczky, 1881: 114). No later scholar mentioned this artefact.

Near the waist of the deceased, Lehoczky reported another cast silver-plate piece measuring 25x101mm with 7mm of gilding that may have been attached to a suit together with a small, semi-circular silver button (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1877: 275, 1881: 114). He later added that it may have been fastened to the 'suit' with a hook and that the button was spherical (Lehoczky,

1877: 275, 1881: 114). However, Lehoczky's third article inadvertently misreported this plate as 263x8.8mm in size and its thickness as 1mm (Lehoczky, 1881: 114).

Hampel noted without comment this gilded silver-plate piece and semi-circular silver button (Hampel, 1905: 590). Fettich noted only the button's placement near the deceased's waist (Fettich, 1937: 78). Fodor recorded only a fluted silver button and thin silver plate were positioned near the pelvis without further comment (Fodor, 1996c: 176).

Leather fragments

While noting he had not expected to find a shield, coat of mail, mace or spear in the gravepit, and there were no apparent costume remains, Lehoczky briefly commented that he observed a few leather fragments upon which he detected impressions of fine stitching (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). No later scholars commented on such fragments.

Stirrups

Lehoczky initially reported two iron stirrups in Trench 1 (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 205). One beneath the hind leg bones of the horse he reported initially as measuring 152x133mm with a 144mm flat footplate (Lehoczky, 1870: 204, 1877: 276, 1881: 114) but later revised those measurements to 180x150mm and a 45mm flat footplate (Lehoczky, 1877: 276, 1881: 114). He offered no explanation for the large variation. He also described this stirrup as 'pretty' and 'womb-like' (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). The other stirrup from the right side of the human leg bones, he only noted without further comment (Lehoczky, 1870: 205, 1881: 114).

Pulszky noted a rusted pair of stirrups (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Hampel claimed one iron stirrup was near the decayed leg of the horse and the second was beside the deceased's foot (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589, 590). Hampel also reported that both were broad with slightly cantilevered soleplates, the lower sides of which had been strengthened by edge strips and their centres by ridges (Hampel, 1905: 590). While the thick 'arms' of the stirrups curved inwards as they ascended the strap-hole was an irregular quadrilateral shape and the surfaces of the stirrups had completely corroded causing strong cracks (Hampel, 1905: 590). One stirrup had the remains of a belt on it (Hampel, 1900: 704).

Fettich noted the placement of one stirrup near the foot of the grave and the other to the right of the skeleton near his legs (Fettich, 1937: 78). Fodor claimed one stirrup was behind, not beneath, the horse's hind legs (Fodor, 1996c: 175) while the other was to the right of the human leg bones (Fodor, 1996c: 175).

Bridle Parts, including a Bit

Lehoczky initially reported a fully corroded horse's bit in the soil a little way below the plank (Lehoczky, 1870: 202). Later, he claimed this bit, a bridle and the iron parts of a saddle lay strewn about the gravepit near the deceased (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). Four years later, he noted the bit was made of iron and that despite being completely corroded, he could recognise its form and composition (Lehoczky, 1881: 112). He repeated his initial conclusion that this bit, some horse bones and other artefacts in the grave indicated the grave was that of a 'brave mounted warrior' (Lehoczky, 1881: 112).

Pulszky commented only that the bridle was rusted and had fallen apart (Pulszky, 1890: 14). Hampel referred to this artefact first as a rusty iron bit (Hampel, 1900: 704) but then as a full bridle (Hampel, 1905: 589). On both occasions, he noted that it was found with a similarly corroded stirrup, some small belt remnants and a clay pot (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589). Fettich did not mention this artefact. Reflecting on Lehoczky's reports, Fodor noted a bit "lay either by the horse skull or in its mouth" (Fodor, 1996c: 175).

Szolyva Trench 2

Baubles

Lehoczky noted four half-acorn-shaped cast silver ornaments, each measuring 31x19mm (Lehoczky, 1870: 206). Internally hollow, they each bore 'handles' and when paired together resembled two large walnuts (Lehoczky, 1870: 206). He later claimed they were made of china with a silver-like trim and most likely had been horse ornaments (Lehoczky, 1877: 276). Hampel noted these ornaments and that their pairings produced large nut-shaped baubles (Hampel, 1905: 591) but attributed no specific usage to them.

Fettich believed the baubles belonged to an earlier excavated trench and had been overlooked during that earlier excavation, resulting in their remaining in the ground until Lehoczky found them (Fettich, 1937: 78). He claimed the baubles demonstrated that the Conquest-era 'Magyar' grave at Szolyva had become mixed with desiccated prehistoric cultural layers that probably dated to the Neolithic (Fettich, 1937: 78).

Fodor omitted these baubles (Fodor, 1996c: 175-178), implying he may have agreed with reservations expressed by Fettich over their inclusion in the Szolyva assemblage. Nevertheless, they were still part of the examined assemblage.

Mug

In Trench 2, roughly 'two fathoms' (3.658m) nearer to the centre of the mound, a fragmented and blackened mug surfaced that Lehoczky described as small and coarsely-made (Lehoczky, 1870: 206). 'Simple' in design and with no handle (Lehoczky, 1877: 276), Lehoczky later added that it was made of clay and contained only soil when found in the eastern part of the trench (Lehoczky, 1881: 112, 113). The mug measured 190x70mm and narrowed towards its neck with its mouth slightly dipping (Lehoczky, 1881: 112). The exterior was undecorated, smooth and burnished to black with two 'XX' shaped marks scratched into its inner base (Lehoczky, 1881: 112).

Commenting that Magyar graves from the Conquest-era largely had been unearthed without pots but that where they had been found in graves they had been mostly of silver alloy, Nagy still accepted Lehoczky's claim of a clay mug, not a pot (Nagy, 1893: 233). Hampel argued that the artefact was a pot, not a mug, that its two internally-incised marks were single 'X' shapes and that the pot was on the eastern edge of the pit, separated from the sword by a thin clay layer (Hampel, 1900: 704, 1905: 589, 591). Citing an entry in the Museum's inventory that noted 'rough pottery fragments', Fettich viewed the fragments as a small mug with one bearing a scratched interior mark made with a pointed wedge tool (Fettich, 1937: 78). Fodor noted Lehoczky's clay vessel with its two X-shaped base marks in the eastern end of the grave, adding it had been turned on a slow wheel (Fodor, 1996c: 175).

Bezdéd Cemetery

Only 16 of the 17 grave collections were provided by the Museum for my examination, with the comment that only 16 had ever existed (Puskás, 2011: personal communication).

Bow

Male grave 9J held the only weapon claimed to be either a bow or an accessory to one (Jósa, 1896b: 401). Jósa reported it as made of steel, lying at the same height as the male human's *lumbar vertebrae* (Jósa, 1896b: 401). Dienes made no specific comment about a bow at Bezdéd but described and illustrated a reconstruction of a 'reflex composite bow with bone nocks' (Dienes, 1972: 37-38, Fig. 10). He commented further that "Bows worked with bone nock occur only rarely in burials of the simpler communities, but many have come to light from the graves of the nobility" (Dienes, 1972: 38). His reconstruction contained no steel parts - only wood, bone and stag sinews (Dienes, 1972: 37 Fig. 10), suggesting that that the steel weapon claimed by Jósa as possibly 'a bow or an accessory' to one (Jósa, 1896b: 401), was more likely to have been part

of an accessory, perhaps an arrow shaft or tip, a quiver stiffening rod, or a spear. Fodor claimed that five graves had yielded bows but did not indicate in which graves they were found nor explained their absence from earlier reports (Fodor, 1996d: 181).

No bow or discernible part of one was observed during the examination.

Knives and Dagger Fragments

The remnants of several knives and possibly daggers were reported among the bladed weapons in the graves. Grave 8I revealed two such adjacent weapons - a pointed piece of iron stretched out above the pelvis, reaching from a decorated plate down the length of the male deceased in that grave, and an iron fragment that, Jósa claimed, resembled a dagger blade (Jósa, 1896b: 400). Hampel later viewed both as fragments of iron daggers (Hampel, 1905: 517). László noted only one knife blade among the gravegoods (László, 1944: 95). Fodor did not record a knife in his commentary on grave 8I (Fodor, 1996d: 181).

In grave 11a, Jósa noted two corroded iron fragments near the female deceased's hand, which may have been the remains of a knife or a dagger (Jósa, 1896b: 403). Hampel considered these small fragments to be part of a knife (Hampel, 1905: 520). László tentatively agreed, adding only that they were made of iron (László,1944: 99).

The three fragments in grave 14d, claimed by both Jósa and Hampel to have been the remains of a small knife, were found lying in a 120mm straight line on either the left upper arm of that female (Jósa, 1896b: 406) or her left hand (Hampel, 1905: 521). László only noted that some fragments of a possible iron knife were found beside the female's left arm (László, 1944: 99). An implement of this type was not observed among the grave 14d gravegoods.

Bone fragments

A single flat bone fragment was found in male grave 7A (Jósa, 1896b: 397). It lay beside his left hand, outwardly parallel to the skeleton in a line approximately 200-300mm long, together with some iron fragments already discussed (Jósa, 1896b: 397) Jósa noted the placement of this fragment was such that it could "oppose a dagger" (Jósa, 1896b: 397). Hampel noted the same bone fragment and that it bore an elongated groove (Hampel, 1905: 517) (see Fig. 12.27).

Iron Fragments

Unspecified iron fragments were reported from five male graves (2G,3F,7A,9J,10K) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 392, 396, 401, 402). Jósa reported their number in each grave only as 'several' but was more specific about their condition and locations within the gravepits (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 392,

396, 401, 402). Hampel's briefer descriptions generally agreed with Jósa (Hampel, 1905: 514, 516, 519) but with one notable exception. Hampel suggested without explanation that two fragments in grave 7A may have been part of a sword (Hampel, 1905: 517). László omitted mention of these fragments (1944: 95, 98-99).

Flints and Whetstones

Four flints were recovered from the male graves (one each from graves 3F,4D,6B,7A) (Jósa, 1896b: 393, 394, 395, 396). All were either beside or near their right hands and described as 'formless' (Jósa, 1896b: 393, 394, 395, 396). In addition, an artefact Jósa described as an iron 'strike-a-light' was uncovered in male grave 8I, lying crosswise 140mm to the East of some arrowheads (Jósa, 1896b: 398). A whetstone was also reported in each of four male graves (3F,4D,8I,10K) (Jósa, 1896b: 393, 394, 398).

A small whetstone in grave 8I was found beside the right hand of that male (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Hampel referred to it only as a grinding stone (Hampel, 1905: 518). Fettich and Dienes excluded whetstones from their discussion of the Bezdéd graves, Fodor noted the one in grave 8I, together with several other artefacts (Fodor, 1996d: 181). László simply noted a whetstone near the human right hand, but offered no further information on its composition, shape or condition (László, 1944: 98).

As with his flint, the grave 3F whetstone was near the right metacarpus and a hole had been neatly drilled at one end of it (Jósa, 1896b: 393).

An elongated dark-coloured whetstone was recovered from grave 4D beside the right hand of that male (Jósa, 1896b: 394, 398). The drawing for grave 4D (Folio 397) shows that whetstone and flint positioned atop the upper part of the right femur with the right forearm bones lying diagonally under the femur and the right-hand bones close to them.

A 'flat' whetstone measuring 85x36mm, was found in grave 10K above the deceased's left elbow joint (Jósa, 1896b: 403). Hampel noted this artefact, describing it as a grinding stone and placing it near the left hand (Hampel, 1905: 519). László agreed with Jósa that it was a whetstone but claimed it was near the end of the right hand. The differences in recorded placement of this artefact suggest that Hampel had not viewed the grave drawing (Folio 403) which clearly indicated a right-hand placement.

Sickles

Jósa reported an iron sickle from grave 4D, found beside that male's right trochanter and reported with canvas rusted onto its remains, suggesting its tip had been wrapped in canvas (Jósa, 1896b: 394, 404). Fragments of possibly another were recovered from grave 12b, where they were found beside that female's right hand and pointing outwards from it (Jósa, 1896b: 404). Hampel concurred with Jósa's description (Hampel, 1905: 516, 520).

This artefact was not mentioned by Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) or Fodor (1996d). László noted the finding of an iron sickle fragment near the human right elbow and wrapped in canvas with a flint and a strike-a-light nearby (László, 1944: 98).

Pottery

A piece of pottery Jósa described as either a mug or pot and bearing a decoration reminiscent of a comb being run along its side, was found in male grave 3F 120mm from his left ear (Jósa, 1896b: 391). Jósa did not describe it further but provided a 1:6 scale illustration (Jósa, 1896b: 392 Fig. III. Grave B. 1/6 n.) that shows a piece narrow at the top and bottom and wider around the middle with multiple rows of wavy lines etched around the 'belly', a smooth upper lip area and a chipped rim. Hampel described it as a 'rough-shaped pot' and its decoration as a 'wave' (Hampel, 1905: 515). Neither Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) nor Fodor (1996d) mentioned this artefact. László noted the more domestic and utilitarian artefacts in the cemetery and commented that this artefact had been made from clay and had comb-drawn wavy lines on its side (László, 1944: 98).

Metallic Plaques or Plates

Plaques or plates and a quantity of fragments identified as such were in several graves of both sexes but most often in male graves. A sizeable unspecified quantity of low-grade 'silver-plates' were reported from the eye cavity of the grave 4D male (Jósa, 1896b: 394). Triangular, three-holed, paper-thin and fragile (Jósa, 1896b: 394), eight were reported as well-preserved and Jósa surmised that at least some had been woven into the rim of a hat (Jósa, 1896b: 394).

Hampel described them similarly to Jósa, noting many were found in the 'frontal' region with eight triangular in shape and bearing small holes, probably for sewing onto a cap (Hampel, 1905: 516). László (1944: 98) noted a thin triangular silver plate with three punctured holes in line with the human cranium.

Grave 8I produced a plate of similar quality to grave 4D but totally crumbled (Jósa, 1896b: 397). Lying across the male's forehead (Jósa, 1896b: 397), Jósa pondered its use as a hat rim decoration or the lower end of a quiver ((Jósa, 1896b: 397, 400). He claimed the discovery of this plate placed beyond doubt the conclusion that this cemetery was created a few decades after the ancient Magyars had migrated there and that, given the limited number of graves at the site, either there had been only a few residents in the area at that time or they had resided there only briefly (Jósa, 1896b: 409). Hampel noted only an unspecified number of silver-plates that perhaps had adorned the deceased's cap (Hampel, 1905: 519). László only recorded some paper-thin silver-plates having been on the human cranium and having disintegrated during excavation (László, 1944: 95).

Several crumbled 'brass' plates also were reported from around the waist of the grave 2G male, prompting Jósa to suggest their use as a belt decoration (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Hampel largely agreed with that interpretation noting their location as the lumbar region (Hampel, 1905: 515). In his collective discussion of the artefacts Jósa noted brass platelets positioned densely beside each other on the crania of the males in graves 2G, 4D and 8I (Jósa, 1896b: 410). A single plaque described as a 'green-rusted thin film in a crumbled state', possibly brass, was in the right eye socket of the human skull in grave 2G (Jósa, 1896b: 390). From its placement, Jósa surmised it to have been a hat decoration (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Hampel viewed the metal of this small plate as green-rusted bronze that disintegrated at first touch (Hampel, 1905: 515). László claimed an unstated number of crumbled 'silver' plates, not brass, were found in the right eye socket and some 'belt decorating plates' of an unspecified material were in the waist region (László, 1944: 98).

Several more discrepancies were noted between the reports by Jósa and Hampel regarding the plaques or plates. Hampel noted a fragment of thin sheet bronze on the left forearm of the grave 14d skeleton (Hampel, 1905: 521) that was not in Jósa's report (Jósa, 1896b: 406). Jósa (1896b: 390) did not report a small decorative plate in grave 2G that Hampel described as having 'tooth-like' ornamentation within a beaded edge (Hampel, 1905: 515). Jósa also noted several very thin, crumbled plates on the left side of the face of the grave 9J male (Jósa, 1896b: 400) that were absent from Hampel's report (Hampel, 1905: 519) but were included later by László (1944: 99).

Other Ornaments

Several other 'uncertain' artefacts appeared to Jósa to serve an ornamental purpose. One ornament in grave 1H was above the human skeleton's left leg (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Jósa's did not illustration showed a generally heart-shaped artefact with small nodes at four points on its outer

rim and a section broken off at the top (Jósa, 1896b: 389 Fig. 1. Grave, 2/3n. Item '1'). A vertically positioned bar was beside it, suggesting the pendant may have been a broach or strap ornament (Jósa, 1896b: 389 Fig. 1. Grave, 2/3n. Item '1').

Hampel reported this artefact as a 'decorative piece' of smooth silver sheet above the left foot of the human skeleton (Hampel, 1905: 514). László referred to a silver decoration discovered above the left leg, but his description was too vague to confidently identify the artefact to which he referred (László, 1944: 99).

Jósa noted an indeterminate and fragmented bronze artefact found in grave 16f, near the ring and the deceased's hand (Jósa, 1896b: 408). His illustration (Jósa, 1896b: 409 Fig. XVI. Grave. 2/3 n. Item '1') showed a crumpled plate with two embedded round spangles or mounts. The spangles were identical in style to the unattached spangles illustrated as Items '13-18' (Jósa, 1896b: 409 Fig. XVI. Grave. 2/3 n). Item '2' was similar to but smaller than Item '1' and bore only one similar spangle or mount (Jósa, 1896b: 409 Fig. XVI. Grave. 2/3 n). This suggested the loose spangles also may have been attached to such plate fragments in the past and those plate fragments had since disintegrated. Hampel noted that Item '1' was small, bore a hole and had two pins (Hampel, 1905: 522). No reference to this artefact appeared in László's text (László, 1944: 99).

The only other potential 'jewellery' objects reported from Bezdéd were three twisted bronze wire fragments noted by Hampel as belonging to grave 4D (Hampel, 1905: 516). Jósa (1896b: 393 Fig. IV. Grave. B 2/3 b. Item '1', 394) only illustrated these so his interpretation of their appearance and composition was not recorded. László (1944: 98) suggested from their placement near the ears that two twisted wires were earrings.

Beads

Five graves (one male, four female) contained various quantities of beads. The sole male grave (2G) had an unspecified number on both sides of his chest, lying in a row from top to bottom and spaced evenly about 20mm apart (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Hampel noted they were made of glass but gave no information on their quantity or condition (Hampel, 1905: 514). Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) and Fodor (1996d) offered no comment on beads in any Bezdéd grave. László only concurred with Jósa's description (László, 1944: 98).

Of the four female graves with beads (12b,13c,14d,15e) (Jósa, 1896B: 403-407), grave 12b contained 16 beads lying in a straight line down the centre of the chest, often more than 10mm apart and with the cord ends apart (Jósa, 1896b: 403). Jósa reported on them collectively and

individually, emphasising their colours and whether they were single or double beads (Jósa, 1896b: 404). Significant differences were evident in the reporting of those beads by Jósa and Hampel.

Hampel noted the beads from grave 12b were positioned 'left of the thorax' (Hampel, 1905: 520) but described them differently to Jósa (see Table 12.3). Most obvious among those differences was Hampel's statement, like Jósa, that there were 16 beads but then he actually described 18 (Hampel, 1905: 520). Hampel also reported eight flat Carnelian beads, not just one as Jósa had noted (Jósa, 1896b: 404; Hampel, 1905: 520) and another bead made of glass with a gold inlay which Jósa had not reported (Jósa, 1896b: 404; Hampel, 1905: 520). Both scholars reported on the small bronze bead in the line of beads (Jósa, 1896b: 404, Hampel, 1905: 520) but Hampel considered it to be a small pendant of spherical form and reported on it separately (Hampel, 1905: 520). While not providing details on the sizes, colours or shapes of the beads in grave 12b, László agreed with Jósa and Hampel on the overall number of beads, adding only their position on the left side of the deceased beside her arm (László, 1944: 99).

The drawing for grave 12b (Folio 405) revealed 19 beads, three more than Jósa and one more than Hampel. The accompanying descriptions more closely resembled Jósa's descriptions than those given by Hampel, although Jósa omitted two double beads with gilded inlay and one black bead with yellow stripes.

From grave 13c, 19 beads were reported (Jósa, 1896b: 404, 405) with the most notable of these a single large bead of dark blue paste found under the female's chin in front of her cervical vertebrae and serving as a neck ornament (Jósa, 1896b: 404). This bead had three large white round bands on its side and, in the three fields enclosed by these circles, were red, white and green dots, and 'garnishing' lines like spokes (Jósa, 1896b: 404). A group of 10 smaller beads were found equally-spaced on her left upper arm. Eight smaller ones were equally spaced on her left forearm (Jósa, 1896b: 405). Jósa described them as: six yellow and white transparent doubles of glass; six similar singles; four opaque blue coloured doubles of paste; and two similar, though slightly larger ones, also of paste (Jósa, 1896b: 405). Hampel agreed with Jósa on the quantity, colours and locations of the beads in this grave (Hampel, 1905: 521). László concurred on their number, sizes and placement but gave no indication of their colours (László, 1944: 99).

In female grave 14d, three beads were reported (Jósa, 1896: 405). One bead discovered under her *cervical vertebrae* was described as dark blue paste with three white circular bands on its side, in the centres of which were 3mm wide brownish-reddish dots (Jósa, 1896: 405). Another 'split' paste bead decorated with three white circular bands was immediately after and to the

right of her row of teeth (Jósa, 1896b: 405). The third bead was a yellowish-brown paste beside the teeth and a little down from them (Jósa, 1896b: 406). Hampel reported the dark blue paste bead but suggested there were at least two (Hampel, 1905: 521). He also noted some similarity between the split paste bead with white stripes and the fragment of a silver circle among the gravegoods (Hampel, 1905: 521) but omitted the yellowish-brown paste bead (Jósa, 1896b: 406).

László recorded three beads from grave 14d (a large blue bead, another similar but broken one, and a noticeably smaller one) all under the female skeleton's chin (László, 1944: 99). That position differed markedly from Jósa's report (1896b: 405-406). In addition to these beads, Hampel noted an unspecified number of other beads among the 14d gravegoods and suggested they probably had come from another grave (Hampel, 1905: 521).

In female grave 15e, 21 beads in total were reported by Jósa (1896b: 407). Jósa recorded 15 small pea-sized beads of various colours and shapes were found in a row above the female's right upper arm, from the elbow toward the shoulder (Jósa, 1896b: 407). Two were under the occiput and another two were beneath the left mandible (Jósa, 1896b: 407). Another single bead was beside the horse's head and a double was beside its mandible (Jósa, 1896b: 407). However, Jósa's report created confusion when he claimed only a total of 15 beads, comprising eight 'double' beads and seven 'singles' (Jósa, 1896b: 407). He then individually described the beads as seven 'singles', seven 'doubles' and one not indicated, while illustrating two 'singles', three 'doubles', three 'triples' and three 'with more' (Jósa, 1896b: 407 Fig. XV. Grave, 2/3n. Item 1).

If all the double beads Jósa noted were considered as two beads and the same dissecting principle was applied to counting the other multiple-bead groupings in his illustration, then the differences in his report would become even more acute. Using this method, the total number of bead segments would increase from 20 described for their placements in the graves; through 22-23 described as 'singles', 'doubles' or unstated; to 29 illustrated as 'singles', 'doubles', 'triples' and 'quadruples' (Jósa, 1896b: 407).

While Jósa's report contained conflicting information on the number and composition of the beads, the confusion was increased by Hampel's report. Hampel also reported collectively on 15 beads (Hampel, 1905: 522). However, his agreement with Jósa ended there. His written description more closely resembled Jósa's illustration with his comment that the beads comprised singles, doubles, triples and 'more' (Hampel, 1905: 522). Hampel noted the colours of the beads as whites, yellows, blacks, silvers and a double with gold foil (Hampel, 1905: 522) but made no mention of the brown or bi-coloured beads noted by Jósa (1896b: 407). As Jósa

noted that he personally participated in the excavation of grave 15e, it would seem likely that he would have observed the artefacts as they were recovered and would have agreed with the illustrator about the composition of this beaded necklace. However, his reported difficulties in converting 'Vidovich's notes' into his report may have contributed to his confusion in reporting these beads.

Neither Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) nor Fodor (1996d) made mention of a necklace, broken or whole, or individual beads of this type, that might clarify the matter. László noted 'several' beads in two places within grave 15e (László, 1944: 99). One group was found on the right side around the neck area spaced some distances apart, while the other small beads were near the horse's skull (László, 1944: 99). He did not specify their number or composition.

Stirrups

A total of 20 stirrups were found at Bezdéd. 18 were distributed between 10 male graves (1H,2G,3F,4D,5C,6B,7A,8I,9J,17E) and the other two were in female grave 15e (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 401, 408, 409). Male graves 1H and 2G each had one, with the grave 1H stirrup under the cranium with its footplate bent in two directions and the grave 2G stirrup above the deceased's left pelvic bone (Jósa, 1896b: 390; Folios 394, 395).

The other eight male graves contained pairs. In two graves (3F,4D) one stirrup in each was reported between the two femurs and the second was under the equine skull (Jósa, 1896b: 393, 394; Folios 396, 397). Jósa noted the grave 4D stirrups lay parallel to each other with the 'arms' of one turned diagonally towards the hip bone (Jósa, 1896b: 394). The grave 17E stirrups were near the end of each human leg with the footplate of the right stirrup to the East and the left footplate lying horizontally to the North-West (Jósa, 1896b: 409). About 200mm north of the horse's skull, the two footplates of grave 7A (Folio 400) were turned towards each other, while the positions of the mostly intact pairs in graves 5C and 6B were not indicated (Jósa, 1896b: 396).

Grave 8I had one stirrup inside the human cranium, facing South. The other was 150mm away, facing West (Jósa, 1896b: 397). Although grave 8I held the 'focal' male, Jósa provided more detail on the grave 9J iron stirrups which had a maximum diameter of 137mm, a minimum of 120mm and an internal measurement of 100mm (Jósa, 1896b: 401). They were straight-soled, not round, and were found 200mm down lying horizontally beside each other with their 'ears' towards the central axis of the grave, beneath the horse's skull (Jósa, 1896b: 401). The two

stirrups in female grave 15e were beside each other and south of a Roma snaffle 400-500mm away, with their footplates in a downward position (Jósa, 1896b: 408).

While concurring with Jósa on the number of stirrups in each grave (Hampel, 1905: 514-517, 519, 521, 523), his only individual comments on their form or function were for graves 1H and 2G (Hampel, 1905: 514). He described the single stirrup in each as of 'typical' shape or form and noted the grave 1H stirrup had been poorly preserved (Hampel, 1905: 514). He was more informative on the locations of the stirrups. In four male graves (2G,3F,4D,17E), he reported their association with the human skeletons (Hampel, 1905: 514-516, 523). In graves 7A, 8I and 9J, the horse's skull was near the stirrups in (Hampel, 1905: 517, 519). In female grave 15e they were 400-500mm from the horse's front feet (Hampel, 1905: 523).

As with the other equestrian artefacts, Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) and Fodor (1996d) were silent. László offered the only details, agreeing with Jósa and Hampel about the number of stirrups in each grave.

However, noticeable differences were observed between his reporting of the placements of the stirrups and Jósa's initial report (Jósa, 1896b). In four instances, László agreed with Jósa's descriptions (graves 2G,5C,6B,17E) (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 396, 409; László, 1944: 98). In three graves (3F,8I,15e) his placements differed markedly to Jósa. For grave 3F, László agreed that one stirrup was associated with the femurs (Jósa, 1896b: 393; László, 1944: 98) but noted the other lying 250mm down in the grave's end (László, 1944: 98). Jósa had reported it, correctly according to the drawing (Folio 396) as under the horse's skull (Jósa, 1896b: 393). In grave 8I, Jósa had separated the two stirrups between the human cranium facing South and 150mm away facing West (Jósa, 1896b: 397). László placed both together around the cranium (László, 1944: 95). Both scholars were partly correct, with both stirrups illustrated as on or near the cranium, and oriented N-S (Folio 401). The two stirrups in grave 15e László recorded at a depth of 500mm, together with the other equestrian equipment (László, 1944: 99). Jósa had stated that they were 400-500mm away from the horse's fore feet (Jósa, 1896b: 408). His contention was supported by the notes on the drawing (Folio 408) although no horse legs were illustrated on the page.

For grave 1H (Folio 394) Jósa placed the single stirrup under the cranium (Jósa, 1896b: 390). László, incorrectly, recorded a pair above the left leg (László, 1944: 99). In grave 4D (Folio 397), while Jósa reported one between the male femurs and the other under the equine skull (Jósa, 1896b: 394). László, again incorrectly, placed both stirrups at the grave's end (László, 1944: 98). For grave 7A (Folio 400), Jósa reported the stirrup pair as lying 200mm north of the horse's skull (Jósa, 1896b: 396). László placed the pair above the legs at a depth of 500mm (László, 1944: 95).

Both scholars were incorrect as the grave 7A skeleton was 500mm down in the pit with the horse skull was above it and the two stirrups in the soil between them, slightly off to the left (Folio 400). The pair in grave 9J were reported initially as found at a depth of 200mm (Jósa, 1896b: 401). László referred to them only as 'below the bones' (László, 1944: 99). However, in the absence of the grave 9J drawing no assessment of the scholars' accuracy could be made.

Strap/Girth Buckles

Strap or girth buckles were reported by Jósa from six male graves (4D,5C,6B,7A,8I,17E) and one female (15e) (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 397, 408, 409). Jósa noted the strap buckle in grave 4D was made from elongated steel, while the one in 7A and the girth buckle in 15e were both iron (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 408). He did not specify the composition of those in graves 5C, 6B, 8I and 17E (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 397, 409). Hampel noted in all cases that the buckles were forged from iron (Hampel, 1905: 516, 517, 521, 523).

The placements within the gravepits varied significantly. Three strap buckles were associated with one or both stirrups in the gravepits (graves 4D,7A,8I) (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 396, 397). One girth buckle was found between the human skeleton's two forearms (grave 17E) (Jósa, 1896b: 409). The placements of the other two strap buckles and one girth buckle respectively (graves 5C,6B,15e) were not reported, with Jósa noting only that he could not decipher Vidovich's notes for them (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 408). Some notes on the drawings for graves 5C (Folio 398) and 6B (Folio 399) clearly stated that the positions of their strap buckles and other equestrian equipment were not recorded. As the handwriting on those notes differed from the other writing on the pages, those notes may have been written by Jósa himself. For grave 15e, a note in the bottom right-hand corner of the page (Folio 408) and directly above an illustration of the strap buckle clearly stated the buckle was beneath the lower ring of the horse's bit. That handwriting appeared the same as most of the other writing on that page.

In reporting on the same seven graves, Hampel omitted placement comments on three (graves 5C,6B,15e) while agreeing with Jósa on the association of two others with stirrups in their gravepits (graves 7A,8I) (Hampel, 1905: 516, 517, 521). However, Hampel placed the two other buckles in different positions to Jósa. In grave 4D, he noted the strap buckle and stirrups near the left forearm (Hampel, 1905: 395), whereas the grave drawing (Folio 397) places one stirrup below the left hand and the other with the buckle above the equine skull on the deceased's lower left leg. By contrast, as depicted in its drawing (Folio 411), Hampel correctly identified the girth buckle's position in grave 17E as between the human leg bones, not the forearms (Hampel,

1905: 516, 523). Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) and Fodor (1996d) made no mention of these buckles.

Fabric

Only one sizeable piece of fabric was reported from the entire Bezdéd assemblage. Found in female grave 16f amid her upper torso, Jósa described it as a multi-layered thick piece with round spangles on its outside and lower layer (Jósa, 1896b: 408). Hampel noted several fragments of felt fabric still attached to some round ornamental mounts (Hampel, 1905: 523). There was no mention of fabric by Fettich (1937), László (1944), Dienes (1972), or Fodor (1996d). László though did note some rounded spangles on the chest of the grave 16f female (László, 1944: 99) which suggests they had been attached to a piece of clothing at some point and thereby indirectly supporting Jósa and Hampel.

Belt Mounts and Decorations

Various small artefacts were reported as either decorative mounts or spangles for clothing (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 393, 394, 397 Fig. VIII, 400; Hampel, 1905: 514, 515, 518; László, 1944: 98; Fodor, 1996d: 184) or attachments to harnessing equipment (Jósa 1896b: 394).

Jósa reported 59 copper and silver ornaments of five varieties from male grave 3F, probably serving as hem decorations for his robe and shifts or decorating his horse's harnessing equipment (Jósa, 1896b: 394). Of six belt decorations bearing a 'special' strap design, five were equidistantly spaced beneath the deceased's left wrist and the other at the end of his right forearm (Jósa, 1896b: 393). Hampel recorded an unstated quantity of 'heart-shaped' ornaments of low-grade silver with beaded edges above the legs in grave 3F (Hampel, 1905: 515). He placed some mounts beneath the right and left hands of the deceased and others above his legs (Hampel, 1905: 515). László included the same quantity of belt mounts in describing grave 3F but noted they were beside the left hand, nearer to and beneath the femurs (László, 1944: 98).

Fodor noted the deceased's belt had been decorated with 59 'base silver' belt mounts found on the left hip bone and beside the left forearm (Fodor, 1996d: 184). However, he description only 49 mounts, noting 12 inverted shield-shaped measuring 17mmx16mm, 19 wide leaf-shaped of 18x17mm, and 18 oval-shaped also 18x17mm (Fodor, 1996d: 184-185). He claimed that the latter had adorned the "pendent *[sic]* strap of the belt" (Fodor, 1996d: 184) which he also claimed was an incomplete set, as it lacked a buckle and strap end (Fodor, 1996d: 184).

The grave drawing for grave 3F (Folio 396) recorded the positions of 55 of the 59 mounts and noted their types. The other four, although stated in the notes, were not indicated on the

drawing. Twelve mounts in the examined assemblage matched the inverted-shield mounts described by Fodor (1996d: 184-185) and depicted and described as lying across the femurs in the grave drawing (Folio 396).

Three mounts of low-grade silver were reported from unrecorded positions in male grave 2G (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Hampel described them as small decorative pieces of low-grade silver with 'many' round surface depressions and points on their lower sections (Hampel, 1905: 514). László noted 'some' belt decorations had been retrieved from around the waist (László, 1944: 98). Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) and Fodor (1996d: 184-185) did not mention these belt mounts.

For grave 8I, a longish 'belt decorating' mount was reported above the diaphragm and 40mm in from a sabretache coverplate (Jósa, 1896b: 397 Fig. VIII. Grave, a-c. 2/3m.; 1-15. sz. 1/3 n. Item 'b', 400). Hampel viewed it as a silver strap end piece (Fig. 12.3) with two oval smooth raised sections surrounded by three leaves and dots in relief (Hampel, 1905: 518). Fettich (1937), László (1944) and Dienes (1972) did not comment on it. Fodor described it as measuring 50x16mm and "ornamented with a design of two grooves combined with beading" (Fodor, 1996d: 184).

Belt buckles

Jósa reported a belt buckle from each of two male graves (Jósa, 1896b: 397-398). A small buckle in grave 7A was made of copper alloy with three 'shafts' and no pin and found a little distance from the left wrist (Jósa, 1896b: 397). Another small one of iron from grave 8I was found hanging from the centre of a sword's tip (Jósa, 1896b: 398). Hampel further described a previously unreported smaller belt 'tongue' of low-grade silver engraved with leaf motifs he claimed had been recovered from grave 8I (Hampel, 1905: 518).

László recorded the small buckle in grave 8I as bronze and found at the deceased's left elbow, not his wrist (László, 1944: 98). He claimed the grave 8I artefact was a girth buckle found at the human cranium, not hanging from a sword's tip (László, 1944: 95). No such buckles appeared in the examined assemblage.

A small iron 'buckle' was reported as found in the middle of a line of iron fragments above the left arm of the male in grave 4D (Jósa, 1896b: 394). Hampel reported it as bronze, not iron, and damaged (Hampel, 1905: 516). No artefact that could be definitively called a buckle, of iron or bronze, was among the examined grave 4D artefacts. However, a small bronze artefact was examined (HNM Inv. 86/1896.177) that measured only 12x8mm with a 4mm hole in its centre (Fig. 12.2). Its shape suggested a buckle, but its small size made it impractical for securing any

but the finest fabrics or a very thin, and therefore easily breakable, leather strap. It also had no 'tongue' or any indication that one had been present at some earlier time.

Another rusted fragment above the left pelvis in female grave 12b was reported by Jósa as a possible buckle (Jósa, 1896b: 404). Hampel saw it as a rusty blade (Hampel, 1905: 520). László y noted this small iron fragment in the female's pelvic region but with no suggestion of its function (László, 1944: 99). No reference to it appeared in the texts by Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) or Fodor (1996d). Jósa did not include it in his illustration of the gravegoods (Jósa, 1896b: 404 Fig. XII. Grave, 2/3 n.)

Bracelets

Three possible bracelets were reported in total (one each in graves 9J, 14d, and 15e).

Jósa reported the low-grade silver bracelet from female grave 14d as on the upper end of the left arm, measuring 110mm wide and 1mm thick with a 66mm long open end and a 'snail' shaped tab with a curled end (Jósa, 1896b: 406, Fig. XIV Grave 2/3n. Item '1'). It also had 2mm-wide circles beaten into it in three rows closely beside each other on the obverse side and a 35mm length broken off during its removal from the gravepit (Jósa, 1896b: 406.). Hampel described this bracelet as a bangle made from a narrow strip of low-grade silver, with curled ends and its surface ornamented with broken circles (Hampel, 1905: 521). He noted it was beside the left forearm (Hampel, 1905: 521) and lower down than Jósa had reported.

László noted this silver bracelet near the left arm bone without further comment (László, 1944: 99). Fettich (1937), Dienes (1972) and Fodor (1996d) did not discuss it.

In a later part of his report, Jósa noted 'three arm and forearm bracelets' without identifying the other two bracelets or the graves with which they were associated (Jósa, 1896b: 411). However, he noted silver wire fragments near the arms of the deceased in graves 9J and 15e, and these may have been two of those bracelets. Jósa noted the flattened silver wire in grave 9J was 2mm wide and thick and was nestled between the lower end of the left upper arm and the upper ends of the lower limbs, near the left elbow and beneath the two knees (Jósa, 1896b: 401, 411). He illustrated seven fragments of varying lengths (Jósa, 1896b: 401 Fig. IX. Grave, B. 2/3 n. Items '4-10'). Hampel noted an unspecified number of 2mm-wide narrow strips of silver sheet at the end of the left upper arm of that male skeleton (Hampel, 1905: 519). Hampel listed them as 'jewellery' (Hampel, 1905: 519), indicating he believed they had been decorative items of some value, perhaps a bracelet.

The third potential bracelet referred to by Jósa, may have been a twisted silver wire hoop under the knees of the grave 15e female (Jósa, 1896b: 411). Earlier in that report Jósa had described this wire as opened and cylindrical with a flattened hole at the end of its hoop. His illustration showed the twisted wire culminated in loops at each opened end (Jósa, 1896b: 407 Fig. XV. Grave, B. 2/3 n. Item '2'). However, the illustration bore no scale to indicate the comparative sizes of the artefacts and shed some light on their function.

Hampel did not mention a silver wire in grave 15e but reported a bracelet of three twisted bronze wires at the end of the femur (Hampel, 1905: 522). Jósa (1896b) did not mention a bracelet of this type for grave 15e. László also did not indicate a bracelet or silver wire for this grave (László, 1944: 99).

Earrings

Jósa made several noteworthy comments regard to the remaining earrings. For grave 12b, the hoops were open-ended, 1.5mm cylindrical wires (Jósa, 1896b: 404). The pair in grave 13c were 2mm-thick cylindrical wire opened and blunt-ended and 27mm in diameter (Jósa, 1896b: 405). A single smaller circlet 23mm in diameter from grave 11a had a pointed end (Jósa, 1896b: 403). The single hoop in grave 14d was hook-shaped and snowy white when retrieved, but blackened in the sunlight (Jósa, 1896b: 405). Despite specifying this latter earring for grave 14d, Jósa did not include it in his later collective commentary (Jósa, 1896b: 411). In that collective commentary, he noted the hoop earrings from grave 16f (Jósa, 1896: 410) but did not mention them in his individual description of that grave (Jósa, 1896b: 408). He also noted some "dangly fragments…of long tin shapes...stacked in bundles" (Jósa, 1896b: 408) which could be interpreted as possibly drop earrings or more probably as pendants.

Bit and Snaffles

Jósa reported four broken or fragmented bits (graves 2G,3F,5C,8I) (Jósa, 1896b: 391, 393, 395, 397). Another bit (grave 6B) and a snaffle (grave 9J) were intact (Jósa, 1896b: 395, 401). The conditions of the other bit and two snaffles were unstated (Jósa, 1896b: 390, 408, 409).

At least three, possibly four, bits were found beneath or near crania, with the bits in graves 2G and 3F beneath the equine skulls (Jósa, 1896b: 391, 391). The grave 1H bit was near the mouth of the deceased (Jósa, 1896b: 390). Jósa did not provide the position of the grave 8I bit but the grave drawing (Folio 401) shows it to have been above the cranium, past two stirrups and a buckle. Two Roma snaffles were recovered from around their horses' legs (female grave 15e and male grave 17E) (Jósa, 1896b: 408, 409) with the snaffle in grave 17E lying lower in the grave

(Folio 411 depicts it at the right foot) and so corroded that it could not be straightened (Jósa, 1896b: 409).

Hampel was less specific, noting these artefacts more generally as 'a bridle or fragments of a bridle' (Hampel, 1905: 514-517, 519, 521, 523). He noted the placement of the artefact in only tree graves - 'in the cranial area' (grave 2G); 'displayed next to the front feet' (grave 15e); and 'with one big toe in the ring of the bridle' (grave 17E). However, the drawings of graves 2G (Folio 395) and 15e (Folio 408) showed the bits beside or on the horse's skull near the feet of the deceased (2G) or where the feet should have been (15e). Hampel noted the grave 9J bit had a square ring (Hampel, 1905: 519), which differed both from Jósa's notes (Jósa, 1896b: 401) and the examined round-ringed artefact labelled as grave 9J. Hampel also noted the snaffle in grave 6B was well-preserved (Hampel, 1905: 517).

Appendix 7

Benepuszta Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011 Observations

1 x belt strap end	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast silver, with gilt background
Size	45x26mm
Shape	Rhomboid, in 3 parts - main body and 2 attached rivet plates, 1 each side
Colour	silver, gilded
Decoration	Gryphon and floral items outlined on their surfaces with black lines. Gryphon appeared to have something emanating from its mouth, the outline of which suggested another animal, as an eye appeared beaten in. Or it may have been only a hole made during excavation, although its position was highly coincidental with that of the main animal. Alternatively, it may have been a leaf, although it was unconnected with other foliage on the image. Further microscopic examination to locate any niello may be useful. If it was a palmette leaf and the animal was surrounded by palmettes, the iconography may suggest the gryphon consumed the palmette, and be interpreted as the late Avars having absorbed the new Magyar culture surrounding them
2 x narrow belt mounts, with concentric circles	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast silver
Size	25x18mm
Shape	Foliate
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Incised pattern of 4 concentric circles - 2 larger at base and 2 smaller in middle. 1 concentric triangle with upward curved ends at tip. Centre triangle was etched in. Reverse was smooth with 3 rivets (1 at tip, 2 either side of base). Incisions roughly executed and appeared handmade
10 x large foliate mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	Most 40x37mm approx., some 35-38mm wide. All same height
Shape	Foliate
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Trefoil palmette, centre of each was slightly sunken & gilded. Finer details of design chased after casting. 4 loops on reverse - 1 each end
16 x foliate ornaments	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver, gilt - some thicker, some very flattened
Size	Not measured
Shape	(16 pieces in box, not 15, one fragmented) of 3, maybe 4 shapes, all with loops on reverse. More complete long ones with 3 loops, partial ones with 2. 4 smaller loops on reverse of scrolled objects.
Colour	Silver with gilt
Decoration	Swirl lines in scroll form impressed on all. Detail of scrolling varied

Benepuszta (continued)

15 x bridle ornaments	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	19mm x 16mm
Shape	Round, trefoil leaf-shaped
Colour	Silver, with traces of gilding on incised areas
Decoration	Incised scrollwork on obverse, three rivets on reverse - 1 at each point
9 x wide belt mounts (8 x full piece, I x fragment)	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	28 mm x 28 mm
Shape	Leaf-shaped
Colour	Silver
Decoration	4 incised concentric circles - 2 larger at base, 2 smaller in middle, 1 incised concentric triangular shape with curved upward ends at tip.
7 x coins & 3 x fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Impressed silver
Size	
Shape	Generally circular, though 3 small fragments also
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Impressed with insignias of 2 or 3 kings & popes (I was advised they were King Berengar I and Pope John, Révész: Personal communication: 2011)
39 x small studs & 3 x tiny fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver with gilt background in central circular depression
Size	13mm diameter
Shape	Round, with depressed centre where gilded
Colour	Silver and gilt
Decoration	Nil, with 2 rivets on reverse
14 x simple narrow Mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast base silver
Size	Consistently 27mm long, width varied - 18mm (3) 19mm (8) 20mm (3)
Shape	Narrow foliate with a triangular pointed extension at 1 end
Colour	Silver
Decoration	4 circles - 2 at base, 2 in middle, 1 triangular shape at top end

Vereb Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011 Observations

2 x bits & 1 ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	3 pieces. Pieces 1 & 2: have ring not fastened to connector rod, enabling movement through connector joint. Piece 1: Smaller bit 127mm long, connector rod 80mm long. Ring outer diameter 66mm, inner diameter 54mm, flat-side thickness 5-6mm, on edge thickness 4mm. Ring slightly flattened at top & bottom. Piece 2: Large bit 140mm long, connector rod 83mm long, outer diameter 69mm, inner diameter 56mm, flat-side thickness 8mm, on edge thickness 4mm. Ring slightly flattened at top and bottom. Piece 3: small separate flattened ring. Outer diameter 40mm, inner diameter 30mm.
Shape	Pieces 1 & 2: for each, flattened circle attached to connector rod with loops at both ends. Piece 3 - flattened circle. Due to corrosion, thicknesses vary. Piece 1: had a sharp elongated chip partly flaking off ring. Pieces 1 & 2 looped together at one end of connector rods.
Colour	Reddish metal
Decoration	Nil
2 x stirrups	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: 148mm long. Ring outer diameter 130mm, inner 110mm. Strap hole at top 17x8 mm. Part above hole was 18mm deep. Whole strap attaching end was 28mm wide, 3mm thick. Ring bottom 2mm thick. Ring bottom flattened to 30mm width & flattened part extending to 120mm tapering to sides. Edges of flattened bottom curved down, with central ridge, and 2mm thick. Piece 2: 143mm long. Ring outer diameter 125mm, inner 110mm. Strap hole at top 15x7mm. Part above hole 18mm deep. Whole strap attaching end 26mm wide, 3mm thick. Ring bottom 2mm thick, flattened to 30mm wide, with flattened part extending to 125mm tapering to sides. Edges of flattened bottom curve down, with central ridge, and 2mm thick.
Shape	Flattened circular, with flattened extra piece at top to connect to strapping
Colour	Silvery exterior, reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x pentagonal mount with ring (maybe part of belt set)	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded bronze
Size	40mm long. Pentagon 20x18mm, 1.5 mm thick. Inner image was 16mm wide. Ring- 3.5mm wide, outer diameter 23mm, inner diameter 14mm. Connector 4mm long
Shape	Pentagonal with ring hanging from base connector, 3 rivets on reverse. Rear of ring flattened completely, undecorated
Colour	Golden & Bronze

Vereb (continued)

Decoration	Iconography on pentagon was floral with three main leaves splayed outwards. Either side of largest upright leaf are two objects attached by stalks to joint between main leaves. On left side was a shamrock-like object and on right a heart-shaped one, in centre of joint between main leaves was another possible shamrock. Whole image surrounded by thick raised border with bumps at pentagonal points. Front of ring decorated with 2 long impressions from almost top to bottom. Between bottom ends of motif are 3 incised small triangles - two facing each other, other in middle with its point upwards (possible inscription or indicator of ownership)
1 x buckle	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast bronze
Size	50mm long. Plate at widest point 18x30mm. Buckle ring 20x13mm. Plate 2mm thick at hinge end tapering to 1mm at point end. Buckle tongue 11mm. Hinge rod in one piece. 4 rivets on reverse - 1 each end of plate. 2 rivets complete, 2 partials only
Shape	Trapezoidal buckle plate and oval ring
Colour	Bronze
Decoration	Incised on front, but not indicated on reverse. Simple design
1 x strap end	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast bronze. Small piece of material or leather in white or cream attached to 1 rivet. Unclear whether originally there or caught onto it during prior handling
Size	64mm x 13mm
Shape	Oblong with curved point at one end
Colour	Bronze
Decoration	Incised pattern on obverse, comprising long open area bordered by parallel lines that cross approximately 2/3 of way. From that point, pattern forms 2 elongated head figures, suggestive of bird heads facing each other, with an elongated heart shape between them. Above these heads was an incised border, with incised dot at central upper point. In long elongated section of pattern, are 3 main incisions - a small diamond; a possible M letter with joined bottom; & another larger diamond at pointed end, flanked by two incised dots. Imagery suggests signature or identifier. Reverse had 4 rivets - 2 at one end, 1 in middle, 1 at pointed end - all relatively intact
4 x arrowheads	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1. 68mm long, 20mm wide at widest point. 1mm thick at upper part, progressively increasing to lower part where thickness was 4mm before it reduced again sharply to the bottom point. Piece 2. 60mm in length, 19mm wide at widest point. 1 mm thick at upper part, progressively increased to lower part where thickness was 3mm. Shaft end if flattened again. Piece 3. 64mm in length, 10mm wide at widest point. Thickness varied only slightly between 2-3mm. Upper end was round and bent at 85-degree angle. A distinct incised line at an angle 12 mm above bottom of shaft end. On reverse there was also a scratched line near the upper end where the arrowhead was thinnest (may have been a manufacturing fault). Piece 4. 58mm long, 9mm wide at widest point. Arrowpoint progressively thickened from 3 to 4 mm down arrow. Shaft flattened with thickness about 2mm. Point of arrow appeared broken off

Vereb (continued)

Shape	Leaf shaped
Colour	Reddish
Decoration	Piece 1. Had a small impressed hole 1mm wide 17 mm from top. Piece 2. No distinguishing features.
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	20mm in diameter
Shape	circular
Colour	silver
Decoration	2 holes punched in it. Impressed with PA|PIA| CI stacked in centre, surrounded by P L A V V R E L I C & 2 crosses
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy
Size	21mm in diameter
Shape	circular
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Inscription comprising various vertical lines and two crosses. Unable to decipher. Centre circle had a cross with four dots. Had two holes punched into it.
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy
Size	22mm in diameter
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Inscription on outer circle includes letters T | R and possibly V. There was also a cross. Inner circle had a strange cross emblem with a circle on one arm. The coin had two holes punched into it.
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy. Very thin.
Size	21mm in diameter
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Obverse had image of figure wearing cross at chest, encircled by inscription, largely worn away. 2 holes punched into it.
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy.
Size	20mm in diameter
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Obverse had image of stylised cross in centre, surrounded by letter O|I | O|S | cross| S| I| L| I | cross

Vereb (continued)

1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy. Very thin
Size	21mm in diameter
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Obverse had insignia of Pope Nicholas I in centre, surrounded by several worn letters
1 x coin	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy. Very thin
Size	19mm diameter, though chipped in two places
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver on obverse, silver and bronze on reverse
Decoration	Obverse had central cross, surrounded by several letters, largely worn away, although the letters L| O| and maybe the letter 'I' are decipherable
1 x coin fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver and bronze/copper/nickel(?) alloy.
Size	16x7mm
Shape	Rectangular fragment
Colour	Silver and bronze on both sides
Decoration	Obverse had central cross with four dots. Partial letters discernible, though only I| L can be surmised.
19 x small foliate mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver, gilded?
Size	15mm in diameter
Shape	Foliate, 17 (type 1) & 2 (type 2)
Colour	Bronze
Decoration	Both - Ornamented with a border of semi-circles enclosing a drop-shaped field in the centre. Type 2 had an opening in the base with the opening carved to mimic the top shape and a flat bar across the bottom, suggestive of something being looped through it. Both types have rivets on the reverse, with Type 1 having two rivets (one at each wide end) and type 2 having one at each end of the flat bar
7 x Small foliate vertical mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver?
Size	18x13mm
Shape	Long leaf
Colour	Gold
Decoration	Ornamented with border of semi-circles enclosing drop-shaped central field

Vereb (continued)

2 x Small pendant strap mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver?
Size	10 mm long x 7 mm wide at widest point
Shape	trapezoidal
Colour	Gold/bronze
Decoration	Ornamented with dot in centre of point end, surrounded by border circle & 2 extensions stretching to bottom. 2 small rivets on reverse
1 x Ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Metallic
Size	22mm in diameter, 1 mm thick, with 4 mm opening
Shape	Circular
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil
1 x bangle	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	65 mm in diameter
Shape	Round, flattened on one section, open terminals slightly flattened, 1 terminal roughly finished
Colour	Golden
Decoration	Nil
1 x silver circlet	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	Not measured
Shape	Round, with gap on one side, possible jewellery
Colour	Silvery
Decoration	Nil

Galgocz Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011
Observations

1 x neck ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver, thickish braided and linked wire strands
Size	393mm circumference, 128mm inner diameter from side to side, 114mm across between front and opening
Shape	Round, with open/close mechanism composed of folded wire terminals flattened at terminal ends
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Nil
2 x drop-shaped ornaments	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	Bauble: 33x24mm. Gold ring: 14mm diameter
Shape	Bauble: Ovoid
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Both sides: incised pattern of swirling lines, with seeming cartouche in centre with floral image

Anarcs 1 Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011 Observations

1 x granulated lunular pendant, with 5-point star	
Descriptors	
Material	Possibly Gilded
Size	28mm long. Star - 16x15mm. Double-crescent - 25x13mm. Conical shape in centre of star protrudes 4mm, with 8mm diameter
Shape	5-pointed star with conical centre insert, over double-crescent shaped base
Colour	Gilded
Decoration	5-pointed star. Obverse: Each star has stacked dots. Largest point at top has 10 dots. 2 smaller points at sides have 3 dots each, largest lower points have 6 dots each. In star's centre: conical node reaching outwards. Below star: double-crescent base, bisected, with each part having 3 groups of 3 dots in triangular pattern on recessed background. Between 2 halves was a central long line. Between star & crescent: small neck piece with 2 dots (1 each side). At bottom there were 2 more small dots. Reverse: mostly smooth, only recessed area of 6mm diameter at base of conical shape & incised line across lowest part
1 x palmette ornamented buckle plate	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver?
Size	33x16mm. Loop ends - 5mm long each, separated by 11mm gap
Shape	Oblong with rounded end and two extensions with loops
Colour	Silver with traces of gilding around edges
Decoration	Obverse: Floral incision with central sprouting flower with 3 leaves and side sprouting extensions in curve. At loop end: a swirl with smooth centres, although these appeared to have had rubbed decoration. Reverse: 3 rivets - 1 each slightly below & inside area nearest loop ends, other at centre of rounded end. All were partials only. Whole of 1 loop end was clear. Something appeared to be stuck inside, possibly a small fragment of brown leather. It was left *in situ.*
2 x belt mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver gilt
Size	1. 20mm x 14mm; 2. 17mm x 20mm
Shape	Piece 1: Foliate, with 3 rivets on reverse - 1 at tip, 2 at lower sides. Piece 2: Wide foliate, with 3 rivets on reverse - 1 at tip, 2 at lower sides
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Incised lilium or trefoil palmette

Szolyva Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011 Observations

2 x baubles with ridged sides (possibly 2 halves of one)	
Descriptors	
Material	Possibly Bronze
Size	Piece 1: 2x18mm. Piece 2: 27x18mm
Shape	Rounded centres, gathered and bunched top and bottom
Colour	Blackened
Decoration	Vertical ridges in centre section, horizontal 'tie' lines around top and bottom
1 x silver bracelet	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	62mm in wider diameter x 56mm in narrower diameter
Shape	Oval
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Open ends were rounded and wider than rest of bracelet
1 x sabretache coverplate	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver gilt
Size	110mm wide x 123mm deep, slightly curved inwards along length
Shape	xxx
Colour	Silver with gilding traces
Decoration	As discussed in text
1 x arrowhead & 1 x harnessing strap with ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron, wood - Joined together through intense heat application. There is a small fragment of cotton thread imbedded in it, which was most probably attached during later curatorial handling
Size	Arrowhead piece: 35mm long. Harnessing strap piece 70mm long and 17.5mm wide with 30mm diameter ring attached that is 4mm thick and its inner diameter is 14mm
Shape	Arrowhead is elongated fragment. Harnessing piece is elongated with a ring attached at one end and two connectors encircling opposite sides of the ring
Colour	Blackened and reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil

Szolyva (continued)

1 x iron v-shaped fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron, burnt or heavily corroded
Size	Overall width 50mm at widest point, overall length 40mm from widest point to narrowest. Arms of the 'v' were 45mm and 38mm respectively. Gap between them at the widest point was 15mm. Lump on the shorter arm was 5mm wide and 4mm deep
Shape	roughly V-shaped with a small lump on one arm
Colour	Blackened and reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x hook-shaped loop with ring nut on one arm	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron, burnt
Size	One arm was 53mm long with a ring nut encircling it 20mm from tip. Ring nut was 8mm deep. The other arm was 54mm long. Central portion was 35mm wide and 6mm thick, although across the whole object the thickness varied up to 9mm. Gap at top between two arms was 25.5mm wide
Shape	Hook-like loop with ring nut on arm
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron, burnt?
Size	85mm long and 23mm wide at widest point. Tang was 10mm wide and 8-10mm thick. Head thickness was 0.5-1mm.
Shape	Arrow-shaped
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron, burnt?
Size	91mm long and 7.5mm wide at widest point. Tang was 5mm thick. Head thickness was 3mm.
Shape	Long-pencil-like
Colour	Blackened with reddish tinge
Decoration	Nil
1 x quiver end fragment with feathered arrow bit	
Descriptors	
Material	Cloth and leather, with perhaps some bone structural parts - difficult to determine without a microscope. Inside had feathered end of an arrow. All pieces were burnt and possibly partially petrified
Size	Width at widest point was 48mm. Length was 47mm. Opening was 29mm x 12mm. Arrow-feather reached up to just 3-4mm from top of piece.
Shape	Round-bottomed and conical
Colour	Reddish-brown
Decoration	Weft and warp of fabric cover were still visible

Szolyva (continued)

6 x stirrup fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron burnt
Size	Various
Shape	Various
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x sabre(?)	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded Iron
Size	363x26mm
Shape	Long straight piece
Colour	Blackened
Decoration	Nil visible
1 x dagger in a scabbard, plus 2 fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron in leather and wood(?) Plus 2 fragments. All heavily corroded
Size	Large piece: 220x33mm. Scabbard: 4.3-5cm wide. Plus 2 smaller fragments (not measured)
Shape	Blade rounded on 1 side
Colour	Blackened
Decoration	Nil visible

Bezdéd Artefacts in HNM – May/June 2011 Observations

Bezdéd Grave 1

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	Overall length 14mm, overall width at widest point 137mm. Width within widest point 120mm, connection section at top where strap inserted 10mm deep. Highest point of connection section 23mm deep. Thickness of arms varied up to 4.5mm, flattened bottom ends varied between 1-2mm
Shape	Rounded triangular
Colour	Blackish, with reddish colouration underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x bit of 2 interlocking pieces	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	1. 90mm length, 9mm at widest thickness and 4mm at thinnest, curved end piece 18mm in outer diameter; 1. 87mm length, 7mm at widest thickened and 5mm at thinnest, curved end piece 18 in outer diameter. Span of gap between ends was 110mm; Curved top end of piece 2 was 20mm in outer diameter. Curved top end of piece 1 was 18mm in outer diameter. Measurements subject to impact of heavy corrosion and thicknesses varied at some points as a result.
Shape	Long rods with curved ends
Colour	Blackish, with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x ornament, broken into 2 pieces	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver/bronze alloy, with possibly greater silver content
Size	30mm deep x 37 mm wide, with gap at top 15mm wide
Shape	Floral with small crimped bulges at four recessed points. Reverse had three rivets (one at bottom point and two at either side of gap end)
Colour	Blackish
Decoration	Crimped bulges at four points
1 x sabretache coverplate	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilt copper plate
Size	158mm x 137mm
Shape	Rounded bottom with extended top, flat across upper edge
Colour	Golden
Decoration	As discussed in text

Bezdéd Grave 1 (continued)

1 x sabre	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded, unclear
Size	635mm long
Shape	Thin, elongated, generally straight, although it may have had a very slight curve
Colour	Blackened
Decoration	None discernible, due to corrosion

Bezdéd Grave 2

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	150mm length, 112mm width to widest outer point, 98mm width to widest inner point. Strap connector end 38mm length, with 12mm x 5 mm opening 14mm from top. Thickness of arms approx. 10mm, flattening out at bottom (footrest) to progressively 30mm wide in centre and 1.5mm thick. Sides of flattened footrest curved downwards slightly, ridge ran along the middle
Shape	Rounded triangular with oblong strap connector piece at top
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x harnessing piece in 2 parts (1 long, 1 ring encircling middle of long piece)	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	Width at widest point 70mm, inner width at widest point 53mm. Length of arm 1 - 31mm and 12mm thick. Length of arm 2 - 43mm and 13mm thick at widest point. Ring 27mm height from top to bottom and 15mm wide across top. Both pieces heavily corroded together
Shape	1 long tubular, 1 ring-shaped
Colour	Blackish, with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead (?)	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	Overall length 90mm. Width at narrow end 8mm, thinning to 4mm in middle and expanding to 24mm at bottom lump. Bottom lump 24mm long, with hole measuring 6mm x 3mm wide just above it.
Shape	Long narrow with thick lump at bottom
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Weaponry

Bezdéd Grave 2 (continued)

5 x small leaf-shaped mounts & 1 x stud with central bulge	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	Various, not measured
Shape	5 trefoil-shaped, 1 round with a button-like bulge in the middle
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	5 trefoil foliate mounts had 3 impressed circles on them (one on each leaf on the obverse, and one rivet in the centre of reverse); 1 circular mount had button-like centre bulge surrounded with spoke-forming impressed lines and a plain border all around, it had one rivet in centre of reverse
2 x cylindrical pieces of tubing (1 green, 1 greyish green)	
Descriptors	
Material	Unclear, Piece 1: maybe of a hardened reed(?), Piece 2: unknown, though appears plastic (both have lined surfaces)
Size	Piece 1 (#75): 16mm long, tubing 3mm diameter with 1mm hole; Piece 2 (#76): 15mm long, tubing 2mm wide with 1mm hole
Shape	Long tubular
Colour	1 x greyish green, 1 x green
Decoration	Nil
1 x metallic circle with opening	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	29mm outer diameter, 26 mm inner diameter
Shape	Flattened circular
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Nil
1 x bauble	
Descriptors	
Material	Agate(?)
Size	15mm diameter across round, 12mm across side view (with pointed end)
Shape	Round with pointed bulge on one side, several chips missing, including one exposing inner reddishness, and a few hairline cracks
Colour	Red and brown flecked
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 3

19 x mounts (16 complete, 3 with chips missing)	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze(?)
Size	All roughly 18mm wide and 17mm from top to tip of bulge at bottom
Shape	Flattened circular with small bulge at bottom, with border etching
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Incised scalloping forming an inner border and the bulge is incised at either side to accentuate it. There are two rivets on the smooth reverse (one at the top, the other above the bulge at the bottom)

Bezdéd Grave 3 (continued)

1 x pair of stirrups	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: 140mm long, 126mm wide at widest outer point, 116mm wide at widest inner point, top-strap connector 30mm long, with strap hole 12mm x 5mm, and a corrosion hole above it. Flattened footrest plate was 40mm wide at middle with flat sides and no ridge, measuring roughly 125mm long. Thickness of arms was 10mm approx. Piece 2: 146mm long, 126mm wide at widest outer point, 118mm wide at widest inner point, top-strap connector 30mm long, with strap hole 8x5mm, starting 11mm from top. Flattened footrest plate was 40mm wide at middle with flattish sides and no obvious ridge, measuring roughly 130mm long. Arms approx. 10mm thick.
Shape	Rounded triangle with flat oblong strap end connector
Colour	Blackish, and reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
2 x harness rods with rings	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: long rod with hook at one end and small ring at other, encircling larger ring connected to it. Long rod was 94mm long, with hook stretching 14mm across and rod 10mm thick. Ring at top of rod had 10mm hole. Larger ring encircled by it was 65mm in outer diameter, 50mm inner diameter, & 5mm thick. Piece 2: Long rod with loop at both ends, upper loop encircling larger ring connected to it. Long rod was 103mm long, with lower loop stretching 18mm across at outer edges and inner hole 12x8mm. Rod was 8mm thick at upper end and 7mm thick at lower. Upper loop was 24mm in diameter at outer edges and inner hole was 10x 9mm. Decided lump was just below upper ring which protruded forward. It was 16mm thick from rear of rod to tip of lump. Larger ring encircled by it was 34mm in outer diameter and 25mm inner horizontally across and 36mm in diameter at outer edges, 28mm inner edge vertically & 4mm thick.
Shape	Long and circular
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
18 x mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze(?)
Size	16mm diameter, 17mm top to tip of point
Shape	Rounded with point at end side with border etching
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Triangular scalloping forming an inner border, smooth centre. Smooth reverse had two rivets (one each at top and tip)

Bezdéd Grave 3 (continued)

12 x mounts	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze(?)
Size	Mostly 17mm in diameter, 15mm top to bottom, slight variances only
Shape	Generally-round with slight tip at bottom and flattened top and hole at flattened end, with slight bulges at either end of top
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Obverse has scalloped inner border from tip at bottom up top just before hole. Reverse had three rivets (one at bottom top and two at top either side of hole)
1 x iron fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Unclear
Size	Not measured
Shape	Elongated oblong with hole in one end, both ends showed signs of breakage
Colour	Black with signs of greyish interior
Decoration	Nil, though some scattered scratches and a small indentation in evidence, possibly caused during excavation or usage
2 x small studs	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze(?)
Size	9mm in diameter
Shape	Round, though one badly chipped
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Etched with tiny triangles in border form with tiny dots between each, one rivet in centre reverse of each

Bezdéd Grave 4

8 x thin pieces of silver-plate	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver-plate
Size	Various
Shape	Various
Colour	Silver
Decoration	All were punctured with 1-4 holes
2 x twisted and curved wire pieces, interlocked	
Descriptors	
Material	Low grade cast silver?
Size	Piece 1: 80mm long with 12mm at one end folded over to form elongated loop, through which Piece 2 was connected. Piece 2: was 33mm long with 13 mm folded over to form loop connecting with piece 1. Piece 2 was otherwise straight
Shape	Piece 1: curved with loop, Piece 2: straight with loop
Colour	Greyish silvery
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 4 (continued)

1 x glazed rock (probably a potsherd)	
Descriptors	
Material	Small rock fragment, type unknown to me
Size	44mm long x 23 mm height and 15 mm thick
Shape	Smooth on one side and fragmented on other
Colour	Grey with flecking and colour variation on smooth side, greyish brown on underside
Decoration	Inner glazing
1 x small metal fragment (possibly part of a clasp)	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver?
Size	12mm at widest point x 8mm deep with 4 mm hole in centre
Shape	Rhomboid with extended ends at bottom and hole in centre
Colour	Darkened silvery
Decoration	Hole in centre
4 x silver-plate fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver-plate
Size	Tiny, not measured
Shape	Various
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Nil
1 x metallic fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Unclear, possibly iron
Size	Tiny, not measured
Shape	Semi-circle
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 5

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	135mm overall length, with stirrup hole 118mm deep. Stirrup foot area 116mm diameter at widest outer point, and 112mm diameter at widest inner point. Stirrup footrest 1mm thick and 27mm wide at middle, and 100mm long. Sides of footrest slightly curved downwards and suggestion of a ridge along centre. Thickness of stirrup arms - 3mm. Upper strap connector is 26mm deep and 34mm wide. The strap hole was 14mm deep and 16mm wide. It sat 7mm from top and 4mm from bottom of strap connector extremities
Shape	Rounded triangular with flat strap connector piece at top and flattened footrest piece at bottom. Footrest piece had small corrosion hole in flattened area
Colour	Black (no sign of reddish underneath)
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 5 (continued)

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Not measured
Shape	Rounded triangular with flat strap connector piece at top and flattened partial footrest bottom. Footrest piece largely missing
Colour	Black (no sign of reddish underneath)
Decoration	Nil
7 x bit fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Various fragments (largest: 28mm long and 11mm thick, smallest: 8x5.5mm wide)
Shape	Elongated fragments, various shapes
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil
2 x silver circlets with openings (possibly earrings)	
Descriptors	
Material	Cast silver
Size	Piece 1: 26mm in diameter, with 1mm thickness. Piece 2: 31mm in diameter, with 1mm thickness
Shape	Circular with an opening at one side
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 6

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Overall 153x126mm, 110mm at inner width. Arms 2mm thick, 12mm across top, 7mm across lower end. Footrest flattened to 2mm, 115mm long. Heavily corroded, much missing, centre possibly >33mm wide. Strap connector 33mm long at top, 37mm wide. Strap hole 13mm from top, 10mm from bottom, 15x10mm
Shape	Rounded triangular with flattened footrest and flat connector piece at top
Colour	Black with reddish tinge
Decoration	Nil
1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Overall 157mm long, 135mm at widest point, and 125mm wide at widest inner point. Arms are 3mm thick, 12mm wide at top end, 8mm wide at lower end. Footrest flattened to 2x125mm long. Some is missing. May have been 38mm approx. wide at its centre. Strap connector piece at top 23mm long. Part missing
Shape	Rounded triangular with flattened footrest and flat connector piece at top
Colour	Black with reddish tinge
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 6 (continued)

1 x bit in 2 parts, linked	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: 75mm, loop ends link to 60mm ring, 42mm inner diameter. Rod 8mm thick, flattened bottom loop 10mm, pointy upper loop 17mm wide at outer edges, 7mm across hole. Ring 7.5mm wide. Piece 2: 80mm, loop ends link to 64mm ring with 52mm inner diameter. Rod 8mm thick, flattened bottom loop was 11mm, pointy upper loop was 17mm wide at outer edges, 8mm across hole. Ring 7mm wide.
Shape	Long rod with looped ends encircling a ring at one end
Colour	Black with reddish tinge
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	88m long and 27mm wide at widest point
Shape	Long leaf
Colour	Black with reddish tinge
Decoration	Nil, though has 30mm haft cutting from bottom
1 x stone (possibly an ornament)	
Descriptors	
Material	Stone
Size	65mm x 17mm
Shape	Elongated, smooth on one side, fragmented on other
Colour	Brownish-grey
Decoration	Some glazing on smooth side
1 x iron fragment (possibly a horse harness strap holder)	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Overall 52x40mm. Inner 40mm long, 29mm wide. 4mm thick. Opening gap 17mm
Shape	Squarish, with opening
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 7

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	158mm long, 120mm outer, 115mm inner width, ring 115mm. Top strap piece 30x32mm, with strap hole 12x12mm, starting 9mm from top. Arms 5mm thick at high end, 7mm thick at low end. Footrest flattened, stretched to 145mm, 1.5mm thick, widest central point perhaps was >30mm
Shape	Rounded triangular with flat strap piece at top and flattened footrest at bottom
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 7 (continued)

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	160mm long, 132mm outer, 120mm inner width, ring 125mm from top to bottom. Top strap 39x28mm, with strap hole 17x11mm, starting 10mm from top, ending 16mm from ring hole. Corroded arms suggest 4mm thick. Footrest flattened, stretching to 130mm, 1.5mm thick, widest central point is >32mm
Shape	Rounded triangular with flat strap piece at top and flattened footrest at bottom
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil

1 x bit set of 2 linked pieces	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: Rod 88mm long, looped ends, 4mm thick. Lower loop 21mm in diameter, 11m diameter hole. Top loop 23mm in diameter, 11mm hole. Ring is 50mm in diameter at outer edges, 38mm inner diameter. Piece 2: Rod 87mm long, looped ends, 4mm thick. Lower loop 23mm in diameter, 9m diameter hole. Top loop 23mm in diameter, 9mm hole. Ring 50mm outer diameter, 37mm inner diameter
Shape	2 interlinked rods with a loop at either end, with ring attached to one loop
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil

1 x spear head	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded sheet iron wrapped around and joined at side
Size	290mm long, shaft hole 34x 115mm. Spearhead 170mm long, 4 ridges
Shape	Long, pointed blade, 4 ridges, shaft conical tubular
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	1 shaft-end man-made hole (small corrosion holes also evident)

1 x stone chip	
Descriptors	
Material	Quartz(?)
Size	22mm x15mm, possible glazed portion 18mm x 8mm
Shape	Irregular
Colour	Dirty whitish with brown streaks through it. Possible glazing, light brown
Decoration	Possible glazing only

2 x bone tools	
Descriptors	
Material	Bone
Size	Piece 1: 82x15mm. Central hole 18x5mm, 30-33mm from ends. Piece 2: 79x17mm. Irregular central hole 22x7mm, 27-30mm from ends
Shape	Both elongated oblong, narrowing to both ends with central hole
Colour	Bone
Decoration	Piece 1: had possibly small fragments of glued-leather around two sides of hole

Bezdéd Grave 8

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	150x133mm at widest point. Ring inner: 117x113mm. Top: 42x33mm from top to ring hole. Strap hole 20x10mm, 15mm from top, 8mm from ring. Arms 3.5mm thick at upper end. Footrest plate 37mm at widest point, 140mm long
Shape	Rounded triangular with flat top piece and flattened footrest at bottom, that had slightly downward curved sides and possible ridge along centre
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x bit set of 2 pieces joined (used for horse harnessing, although presence of fragile glass ring suggests a ceremonial use only)	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron, transparent ring, possibly glass, covered with oxidation from iron
Size	Piece 1: Rod 8x100mm. Lower loop 20mm outer diameter, 10mm hole. Closely joined. Top loop 23mm across, 10mm hole. Loop end only touching rod. Ring 48mm across, 39mm inner hole. Piece 2: Rod 9x106mm long. Lower loop 21mm outer diameter, 11mm hole. Top loop 26mm across, gap of 13mm, loop end not joining rod. Glass ring 47.5mm across, 4.5mm thick, inner diameter 37mm
Shape	2 rods, looped either end, linked one end, connected to rings other ends
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath. Transparent glass ring had heavy oxidation residue, coverage suggested some black printing on it. Ring broken cleanly at one point, possibly deliberate. Glass suggested later replacement for original iron ring
Decoration	Nil
1 x iron semi-circle	
Descriptors	
Material	Thin corroded iron
Size	50x36mm, 4mm thick, 35mm opening
Shape	Semi-circular
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
2 x wood fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Red coloured wood with rough exterior
Size	Piece 1: 30mm x 21mm, Piece 2: 16mm x 12mm
Shape	Both irregular
Colour	Red inside with brown exterior and some glazing or sap residue on outside
Decoration	Possible pattern, although may also have been the natural tree skin

Bezdéd Grave 8 (continued)

1 x knife blade?	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	113mm x 20mm, 2mm thick
Shape	Irregular oblong
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x lump of iron	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	32x10mm at thick end, apparently broken off, possible partial central hole
Shape	Irregular lump
Colour	Blackish with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x belt strap end	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	50cm overall length and 16mm overall width
Shape	Irregular lump
Colour	Tarnished bronze
Decoration	Centre of strap end had two incised and elevated, elongated oval rings - one smooth-topped, other with scratching on it, suggesting some previous inscription, although may have been faulty workmanship. Surrounded by incised slanting lines - several either side of each oval. Imagery suggesting aquatic arthropods. Both images bordered. One end of strap curved outwards, other inwards. 3 rivets on reverse (1 at outer curved end centre, other 2 on 2 ends formed by inner curve). Underside reflected upper impressions
1 x scrap of iron	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	79x11mm
Shape	Irregular flat piece
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead(?)	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	48mm long, 25mm at widest point, 7mm folded over tip, 3mm hole at the other end
Shape	Long leaf-shaped with folded over tip
Colour	Black, with possible red or bronze underneath
Decoration	Tip is rounded off, and hole inserted into the other end

Bezdéd Grave 8 (continued)

1 x marble flat piece	
Descriptors	
Material	Marble
Size	79x11mm wide at widest point
Shape	Rounded oblong, smoothed to a near-pointed end on one short end
Colour	Stone
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	53x22m mm wide at widest point
Shape	Irregular, flat lump of translucent material attached to haft end, missing point
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil
1 x arrowhead fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	53x22m mm wide at widest point
Shape	Irregular flat piece, pointed end only
Colour	Black
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 9

1 x incomplete bit set, with an additional broken piece	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: 88mm long, one loop 14mm diameter (another loop missing) the other end obviously broken. Piece 2: 94mm long, 7mm thick. 2 circles in one end and connector loop at other, joining to piece 1. Two circles were 11mm and 8mm diameter respectively, connector loop was 10mm diameter. Piece 3: Semi-circle (partial ring) was 44mm diameter at outer edges, 33mm deep, 32mm gap between ends. Ring 4mm thick.
Shape	2 rods with loops, 1 semi-circle
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
17 x fragments of flat silver wire	
Descriptors	
Material	Base silver flat wire
Size	Various from 5-80mm
Shape	Lengths, various, some bent
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 9 (continued)

2 x golden drop-shaped baubles	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	Each - 25mm long from top to bottom, bauble 10mm wide at base, connector ring 4mm diameter
Shape	Drop-shaped with 8 flat sides tapering to circular border below connector ring. Base of bauble had small central bulge
Colour	Golden
Decoration	8 flat sides tapered up to a circular border below the connector ring which comprised a series of small bulges
1 x golden circlet	
Descriptors	
Material	Gold
Size	23mm diameter, with 20.5mm inner diameter
Shape	Roughly circular with opening that had slight tapering ends
Colour	Golden
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 10

13 x bronze baubles with loops (10 complete and 6 halves)	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	Roughly 10mm in diameter, with some small variations, loops roughly 5mm in diameter, also with small variations
Shape	Round in two halves joined together with loop attachments at top
Colour	Tarnished bronze
Decoration	Nil
1 x silver circlet with pointed end	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	17.5mm across at widest end, 16mm across at narrower end, 17mm inner diameter between ends. 6mm gap between ends. 1mm thick
Shape	Round with opening
Colour	Silver
Decoration	Nil
2 x silver circlets	
Descriptors	
Material	Base silver
Size	Piece 1: 23mm at longer ends, 20mm at shorter ends. Piece 2: 23mm diameter
Shape	Oval with opening, Circle with opening
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 11

1 x Flat piece of marble	
Descriptors	
Material	Marble
Size	96mm x 35mm
Shape	Rectangle with rounded ends
Colour	Brownish
Decoration	Nil, though some slanted trimming on one end
1 x fragment of iron with punched hole	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded Iron
Size	63mm long
Shape	Irregular, had small punched hole slightly left of centre
Colour	Black with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 12

1 x beaded bracelet	
Descriptors	
Material	Various materials (stone, blue coloured agate, wood, maybe bronze)
Size	various – largest:15mm diameter, smallest: 4mm diameter
Shape	Mostly round with holes in centre. Stone pieces, irregular shapes, although appeared to have been fashioned towards circular to a degree and had central holes. Agate appeared to have been polished, had a central hole. Artefact had been rethreaded with plastic thread since then, so original composition was uncertain
Colour	Various (yellow, brown, bonze, blue/grey, black, red, creamy yellow)
Decoration	Cream coloured band around 3 beads (looks natural). One had a brown portion on side (also looked natural), suggesting these were especially chosen for their appearance
1 x ring head and partial band	
Descriptors	
Material	Silver
Size	15mm diameter of head. Band arms 8mm on one side, 5mm on other. Each of 4 bulges on sides 2mm deep
Shape	Head was round with four bulges and two broken arm pieces on sides
Colour	Blackened by tarnishing on obverse, silver visible in part on reverse
Decoration	Central incised bulge, holder had 4 bulges on it with evidence of 4 pointed, holding points surrounding central bulge
1 x drop bauble	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	13mm long from top to bottom. Bauble 9mm diameter, 7mm deep. Ring 5mm deep, 4mm diameter
Shape	Heavily flattened circle, looks like life buoy shape
Colour	Tarnished bronze
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 12 (continued)

2 x bronze circlets	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	Piece 1: (331) is 22m diameter, 1.5-2mm thick. Piece 2: (332) is 21mm diameter, 1.5-2mm thick.
Shape	Both handmade, slightly irregular circles, with slightly tapered openings at one side
Colour	Blackened bronze
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 13

1 x beaded bracelet	
Descriptors	
Material	Various – stone, gemstone
Size	Largest: 17mm diameter, smallest (double #16): 4mm diameter
Shape	Round
Colour	Various
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 14

1 x bronze bracelet	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	65mm diameter, 8mm wide and 0.5mm thick approx., with 23mm gap between open ends. One open end had small outward fold in it
Shape	Circular with opening
Colour	Blackened bronze
Decoration	3 rows of small circles around all of it
1 x beaded bracelet of 24 beads	
Descriptors	
Material	Various
Size	Doubles (18) sizes varied from 6mm to 11mm. Singles (6) sizes varied from 4mm to 6mm
Shape	All fashioned into round shapes, with doubles having 2 round shapes joined between
Colour	Various - yellow, translucent, bronze-like, one bluish
Decoration	Nil
1 x dropped bauble with ring attachment	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	20mm long from top to bottom, bauble 6mm diameter and 9mm deep, ring attachment was 7mm diameter and 8mm deep with a 2mm join to bauble
Shape	Bauble - round bottom with bulge at point, concentric circles shape above that to mid-point then tapered to where attachment began
Colour	Blackened bronze
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 14 (continued)

1 x rounded bauble with ring attachment	
Descriptors	
Material	Tarnished bronze
Size	13mm long, 10mm diameter, 3mm long ring attachment
Shape	Round
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Ridges cast in lines down sides
1 x ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	20mm deep x 21mm wide, ring face 18x14mm
Shape	Ring with flat face
Colour	Darkened bronze
Decoration	Incised motif on face of 8 leafed flower with three dots between each leaf

Bezdéd Grave 15

Several x beads (2 single, 3 double, 3 treble, 3 quadruple)	
Descriptors	
Material	Translucent beads
Size	Singles: 5mm diameter. Doubles: 11mm large, 8mm small. Trebles: 12mm. Quadruples: small 16mm, large 17mm
Shape	Round, multiples had joins in the middle
Colour	Opalescent
Decoration	Traces of possible bronzing
3 x twisted wires (possible jewellery)	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	Piece 1: (403) 90mm long, 60mm across. Piece 2: (406) 62mm long, 50mm across. Both 2mm thick. Piece 3: (404) 48mm long, 40mm across, 1.5mm thick.
Shape	Twisted, curved. Pieces 1 & 3: bent into ring ends
Colour	Tarnished bronze
Decoration	Nil
8 x dropped, round or ridged baubles with rings	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	Round: 10mm diameter, 4mm ring at top. Dropped: 18mm long, bauble 15mm long, 5mm ring
Shape	2 full rounded, 1 partial rounded, 3 upper halves, 1 lower half, 1 dropped with ridges
Colour	Tarnished bronze
Decoration	Round: nil. Dropped: vertical ridged sides up to 2/3rds of length, above were 3 concentric circles below the ring

Bezdéd Grave 15 (continued)

1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	126mm diameter, 110mm inner edges, 10mm thick, 13mm from top of ring to strap hole bottom, 18mm wide strap hole and 5mm deep. Strap hole 22mm from top of flat piece. Footrest 29mm wide at central point
Shape	Rounded triangle, flat strap-piece, flat footrest, sides curved down, central ridge
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
1 x stirrup	
Descriptors	
Material	Heavily corroded iron
Size	125mm diameter, 110mm inner edges, 10mm thick, 12mm from ring top to strap hole bottom, 16x6mm strap hole, 21mm from top of flat piece. Footrest 33mm wide at central point
Shape	Rounded triangle, flat strap piece, flat footrest, sides curved downward
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Nil
2 Rings & 1 fragment of a ring	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	(1): 50mm diameter, 37mm insider, 7mm thick. (2): 37mm diameter, 24mm inside narrow ends, 45mm diameter, 33mm inside long ends, 7.5mm thick. (3): 32mm long, 10mm at wide end, 7mm at narrow end
Shape	1 circular, 2 ovoid, 3 elongated with fold on one end and lump on other
Colour	Blackened with reddish underneath
Decoration	Piece 3: had hardened gum-like substance on underside
1 x bit in 2 pieces	
Descriptors	
Material	Corroded iron
Size	Piece 1: 105mm long, hook end. Piece 2: 100mm long rod, 14x10mm ring at end joined to piece 1. Other end ring encircles a ring 43x41mm inner edges & 55mm diameter at outer edges, 5mm thick.
Shape	2 rods. 1 joined to circle, loop the other end. 1 looped at one end, hook loop at other
Colour	Blackened iron
Decoration	Nil

Bezdéd Grave 16

38 x studs	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	11mm diameter approx.
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver with traces of gold
Decoration	Impressed bulge in centre of each, 1 central rivet in reverse

Bezdéd Grave 16 (continued)

11 x studs	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	12mm diameter approx.
Shape	Round
Colour	Silver with traces of gold
Decoration	Impressed bulge in centre of each, 1 central rivet in reverse
1 x scroll ornament	
Descriptors	
Material	Iron
Size	49x11mm
Shape	Scroll-like
Colour	Black
Decoration	Incised border around all edges
1 x bauble & 1 fragment	
Descriptors	
Material	Tarnished silver
Size	Piece 1: (487) 16mm long, 13mm diameter across bauble, 4mm above centre to ring base, 6mm ring. Piece 2: (510) 8mm diameter
Shape	Ovoid
Colour	Tarnished silver
Decoration	(1): grape bunches motif (alternating 7, 3) around middle, below 2 raised rows. (2): circle of raised dots below, also 2 raised grape bunches
4 x shield-shaped studs	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	15mm diameter
Shape	Round with central bulge
Colour	Silver and gold
Decoration	Obverse Shield decoration, smooth reverse with 2 rivets
6 Studs & 6 fragments	
Descriptors	
Material	Bronze
Size	11mm in diameter
Shape	6 with hole & 2 looped rivets on reverse, 5 fragments, 1 curved
Colour	Bronze-like
Decoration	Shield embossing on front around two concentric circles encircling hole
12 x ornaments	
Descriptors	
Material	Gilded silver
Size	11mm diameter
Shape	3 x top - flat rhomboid, bottom - embossed punctured shield, with connector, round, central hole, 2 looped rivets on back. 9 x fragments
Colour	Bronze-like
Decoration	Shield embossing on front around two concentric circles encircling hole

Appendix 8

Biological Anthropology of Bezdéd Graves as reported by András Jósa in 1896(b)

Grave	Remains	Placement and Orientation in Grave	Condition
1	Articulated human skeleton, male adult - faint drawing)	Lying supine, head to the West, legs to the East	Unstated
1	Equine cranium, mandible and legs	30-35 cm above human's lower right leg bones in gravepit, and lying on side, nose pointed towards human's knee. All four legs broken	Unstated
2	Articulated human skeleton, male adult	Lying supine, head fully turned to left	Unstated
2	Equine cranium	Lying face up, nose pointed up towards human knee above it	Unstated
3	Articulated human skeleton, male adult – faint drawing	Lying supine. Text mentions right forearm bone and both femurs	Unstated
3	Equine cranium, 2xleg bones – faint drawing	Cranium lying face up, nose pointed up towards human's knee above it. Leg bones scattered at end of human feet in gravepit	Unstated
4	Articulated human skeleton, male adult	Lying supine, Right and left forearms lying beneath tops of both femurs	Unstated
4	Equine cranium, 1xlong bone	Cranium above the human left lower leg and foot	Unstated
5	Articulated human skeleton, Male, youth - skeleton smaller than rest)	Lying supine, head to Northeast and feet to Southwest, but body pushed forward from main row	Unstated
5	Equine cranium and one long neck bone	Cranium lying face up, nose pointed up towards human's knee above it	Unstated
6	Articulated human skeleton, male adult	Lying supine in main row, 1.5m from grave 5	Heavily decayed
6	Equine cranium and long neck bone	30-35 cm above human left knee and lower part of left femur, with nose pointing up toward human hip	Cranium top turned down
7	Articulated human skeleton Listed as male, although drawing suggests possible female	Lying supine in main row though turned more eastward and pushed forward, Right side of cranium broken, mandible fallen and only two teeth inside it, cranium turned most of way to left	Heavily decayed
7	Equine cranium, long neck bone and leg bones	Lay with skull top upwards 50cm above human skeleton, sitting over human ankle joint and lower left leg with nose pointed towards knee, forelegs broken and lay backwards and beneath neck bone, hind legs bent backwards further to right	Heavily decayed
8	Articulated human skeleton, listed as male, although drawing suggests possible female	Lay supine in main row, with cranium fully inside a stirrup and turned to left. Mandible with teeth turned to left. Forehead covered by several paper-thin plates. Left arm bent slightly inwards from elbow joint	Cranium shattered
8	Equine cranium, long neck bone and four leg bones	Cranium lay flat 30cm above and to right of human left leg with nose pointed up toward knee. Hind legs disarticulated, lay below side of human right leg. Forelegs broken backwards and lying beneath long neck bones between human legs	Unstated

Appendix 8 (continued)

Grave	Remains	Placement and Orientation in Grave	Condition
9	No drawing supplied, listed as Male adult	Notes mention cranium facing left, mandible hanging down to right, left upper arm, both knees and lower leg bones (Révész and Prohászka, 2004)	Unstated
9	Equine cranium, torso and clavicle	Cranium pointed towards human head, torso beneath human legs, clavicle noted (Révész & Prohászka, 2004)	Unstated
10	Articulated human skeleton, Male adult	On main road 2.5 m south of grave 9 and 20-30cm below ground, Cranium turned to right and fallen, both ears noted, drawing shows right arm slightly bent inward at elbow joint	Unstated
10	No horse remains		
11	No drawing, notes only, only cranium and left arm from elbow up remain, listed as female, based on artefacts	In main row between graves 8 and 12, but slightly forward of 8 and behind 12, oriented slightly more easterly than grave 8 and 20cm deep in soil, arm bone pointing northward	Cranium decayed
11	No horse remains		
12	Articulated Human skeleton from upper femurs to cranium. Legs and feet below this indiscernible, Female adult	1-1.5 m away from grave 11, lying parallel to it	From lower part of femurs downward near totally decayed
12	No horse remains		
13	Articulated human torso, Female adult, right arm and hand, upper left arm and partial lower left arm, neck and cranium	1m south of grave 12 and parallel to it. Cranium turned to right. Mandible hanging down	From heads of femurs downward totally decayed
13	No horse remains		
14	Articulated human skeleton (drawing very faint), young female	Lying halfway forward of main row and oriented NNE-SSW. Ageing based on distance from teeth to acetabulum coxae	Teeth largely decayed
14	No horse remains		
15	Partially articulated human skeleton, Female adult, missing lower legs, feet and left hand	Lying supine in N-S main row, with head to West and feet to East and 1,4 m from grave 14. From head to feet estimated at 153cm long. Right hand removed at burial and placed above left shoulder with fingers pointing westward	Cranium impressed & broken. Maxilla pressed into cranium

Appendix 8 (continued)

Grave	Remains	Placement and Orientation in Grave	Condition
15	Equine cranium, two forelegs and two hind legs	Lying flat 30 cm above human left femur and slightly turned to right, with nose pointed upward toward human cranium. Cranium 65 cm long and turned 45 degrees to right. Knees of forelegs bent inwards towards each other, while hind legs turned outwards to North, indicating that at burial horse's spine twisted to right	Unstated
16	Partially articulated human skeleton., Female adult	Lying supine 5m away from grave 15. Cranium slightly turned to the left. Right forearm bent inwards and right hand resting on pubic bone. Left arm bent in two with elbow lying slightly above left hip and left forearm and hand turned upward in a 'waving' pose. Left leg bent inwards at knee joint.	Cranium top totally decayed. Lower legs impressions only in soil
16	No horse remains		
17	Articulated human skeleton, listed as male adult (drawing extremely faint)	Lying supine above main row, directly ahead of graves 3 and 4, head oriented to West and feet to East. Head of right femur broken off either already at burial or after by pressure of earth around it, partly turned outward	Heavily decayed, femur broken
17	Equine bones (drawing too faint)	Notes indicate cranium near human feet at depth of 25 cm	Heavily decayed

Appendix 9

Human Body Parts noted in Jósa's Second Report on Bezdéd (Jósa, 1896b)

Grave	Male/ Female	Adult/ Child	Head	Torso	Arms	Legs	Other comments
1	Male	Adult	Cranium, Mouth	Unclear		Right lower limb, foot, left leg	Sole of 1 foot in a stirrup
2	Male	Adult	Cranium, Right eye socket, left ear	Chest, Waist, Pelvic bones		Right femur	Head turned left
3	Male	Adult		Left hip bone	2 wrists, 2 forearms, right metacarpus	2 femurs	
4	Male	Adult	Eye socket, 2 ears	Pelvic bone, hip joints, 2 trochanters	Right elbow, 2 forearms, right hand, left arm	2 femurs	Part of eye cavity pushed in
5	Male	Young ?	2 ears				Skeleton smaller than previous ones
6	Male	Young ?			Right hand, right metacarpus	Left femur	Parallel to horse's trunk
7	Male	Adult	Cranium, Teeth				Skeleton heavily rotted away, right temple either smashed in or ground had pressed it in, mandible fallen deep down, only 2 teeth in mandible suggesting advanced age, skull turned left
8	Male	Adult	Cranium, 2 ears, mandible, forehead	Pelvis	Right hand, one finger, left arm, forearm	Left femur, knee	Cranium almost intact with ears pointed south and stirrup in it, Skull turned left with mandible fallen and teeth visible, left arm slightly bent inwards towards thigh
9	Male	Adult	Cranium, face, mandible, left ear	Sternum, clavicle, lumbar vertebrae	Hand, left upper am	Both lower legs	Face turned left, lower jaw fallen to right
10	Male	Adult	2 ears	Armpit, chest, diaphragm,	Right hand joints, left elbow joint	Knee	Face turned right, chin fallen
11	Female?	Adult	Cranium		Left arm		Skull crumbled, left arm N oriented, only bones remaining

Appendix 9 (continued)

Grave	Male/ Female	Adult/ Child	Head	Torso	Arms	Legs	Other comments
12	Female?	Adult	Unclear	Lest side of chest, left pelvis	Right hand, one finger	Lower limbs	Skeleton so disintegrated that lower limbs unrecognisable
13	Female	Adult	Cranium, mandible, chin, 2 ears, teeth		Left upper arm, left forearm	Lower limbs	Lower limbs totally rotted away with no trace, skull leaning to right, jaw fallen, teeth's roots ground down
14	Female?	Young Adult	Row of teeth	Hip joints, shoulder, cervical vertebrae	Left upper arm, 2 forearms	Legs	Grave leant slightly to East, legs lay turned to North, Skeleton so decayed that its right place only recognisable from carbonization detected, hip joint valleys (acetabulum coxae) 40cm away from shoulder, teeth's roots intact, crowns of teeth quite resistant
15	Female	Adult	Cranium, left jaw	Torso, shoulder, sternum	Left hand, forearm, right upper arm, right elbow	Ankle joint, legs, knee joint	Skeleton very rotted, largely indiscernible, left hand severed when buried as left arm lay parallel to and beside extended torso, palm of hand on shoulder, skeleton measured 153cm from head to ankle joint, although legs destroyed, Skull crushed and compressed, forearm's upper end completely rotted.
16	Female?	Adult		Pelvis, Chest	Right hand, Right arm, left forearm		Right arm bent towards pelvis, left arm bent in to elbow & pointed out
17			Head		Legs, right femur, feet		Skeleton oriented head to West, legs East, supine, head & neck of right femur crushed by ground's weight & joint valleys turned out in opposite direction. These joints lay 70cm from top of head. Skeleton measured 166cm from head to ankle joint. Big feet had rotted ends.

Appendix 10

Mounts, Pendants and Ornaments in Bezdéd Graves reported by various Scholars

Grave	Jósa (1896b)	Hampel (1905)	László (1944)	Fodor (1996)
2G	3 low-grade silver mounts (Jósa, 1896: 390)	3 low-grade silver mounts, with round surface depressions and points on lower sections (Hampel, 1905: 514)	Some belt decorations	Nil report
3F	59 copper and silver ornaments, five different types, usage: clothing hems or horse harnessing decorations (Jósa, 1896: 393-394)	Unspec. Qty. 'Heart-shaped' ornaments, low-grade silver with beaded edges (Hampel, 1905: 515)	59 belt mounts (László, 1944: 98)	59 'Base silver' belt mounts, incl: 12 inverted shield-shaped 17-16mm; 19 x wide leaf-shaped 18-17mm; 18 x oval, 18-17mm, on "pendent *[sic]* strap of the belt (Fodor, 1996: 184)
8I	1 longish belt decorating (Jósa, 1896b: 397, Fig. VIII)	1 Silver strap-end, 2 oval smooth raised sections, encircled by 3 leaves & dots in relief (Hampel, 1905: 518)	Nil report	1 strap end, 50x16mm, "design of two grooves combined with beading" (Fodor, 1996: 184-185)
9J	2 pendants (Jósa, 1896b)	Nil report	Nil report	Nil report
10K	10 Button-shaped beads, copper/silver, each has 2 parts welded, used as sleeve buttons (Jósa, 1896b: 403)	13 pendants from the hem of shift, each with loop at top (Hampel, 1905: 520)	10 pendants, each with loop handle; 3 bronze buttons	Nil report
14d	1 Hanging, round pendant, copper or low-grade silver, ridged lower, smooth upper sections with vertical seam (Jósa, 1896b: 406)	Nil report	Nil report	Nil report
15e	8 double spangles, low-grade silver, cast in two, soldered, ringed top 'handles' (1 had 17 vertical ridges on lower, some concentric circles on upper sections) (Jósa, 1896b: 407-408)	Nil report	Nil report	Nil report
16f	2 pendant spangles; Several round spangles on fabric; 4 disc-shaped spangles with leather shreds; Several round 'dangly' long tin shapes, in 3 bundles; 5 smooth, globular pendants with loops (1 with grape bunches) (Jósa, 1896b: 408, 409)	1 pendant, spherical with small eyelet, had two parts soldered vertically; 1 pendant, spherical, with triangular globes in groups of 3 or more, lowest tip is small loop with bead attached; Several conical plates, with rows of beads in triangles on surface of 1 (Hampel, 1905: 522)	Nil report	Nil report

Appendix 11

Beads Found in Bezdéd Cemetery Graves

Female Grave 12b as reported by Jósa (1896b: 404)

Qty.	Single/Double	Colour and/or Other Comments
2	Double stated	Seemingly sweet-looking glass
2	Single inferred	Same type of beads as above
3	Single stated	Black or maybe dark blue beads
1	Single inferred	Flattish Carnelian bead
1	Single inferred	Dark blue paste bead, smoothly surfaced
1	Double inferred	Reddish-brown coloured bead, hole at one end, white bar around outer middle
1	Double inferred	Same as above, except the upper beaten eyelet of the bead is missing
1	Single inferred	Black bead, with yellow stripe running around its middle
3	Double inferred	Rectangular segmented yellow-white paste beads, sporadic bluish tinted glaze
1	Single inferred	Small bronze bead

Female Grave 12b as reported by Hampel (1905: 520)

Qty.	Single/Double	Colour and/or Other Comments
8	Single inferred	Flat Carnelian beads
1	Double inferred	Red/brown bead with white pearl stripes
1	Single inferred	Black bead with yellow stripe
2	Single inferred	Same type of beads as above
1	Single stated	Almost cube-shaped bead, light yellow with notches
1	Double stated	Glass bead with gold inlay
3	Single inferred	Black and blue glass beads
1	Single inferred	Dark blue paste bead

Female Grave 12b as noted in Folio 405

Qty.	Single/Double	Colour and/or Other Comments
4	Double-stated	Gilded inlay
2	Single-stated	Gilded inlay
3	Double-stated	Black or dark blue
1	Single-stated	Carneol
1	Single stated	Dark blue
2	Single-stated	Bi-coloured
2	Single-stated	Black with yellow stripes
3	Single-stated	Yellow and black
1	Single-stated	Bronze, with a ring attachment

Female Grave 15e as reported by Jósa (1896b: 407)

Qty.	Single / Double	Colour and/or Other Comments
1	Single stated	Piece of White
1	Single stated	White
1	Double stated	Yellow
1	Single stated	White
1	Double stated	Yellow
1	Single stated	Dark-coloured
1	Single stated	Light silvery
1	Double stated	Light gold
1	Single stated	Light silvery
1	Not indicated	Brown
1	Double stated	Piece of bi-coloured
2	Double stated	No information
1	Double stated	No information
1	Single stated	White
1	Double stated	Glass

Male Graves reported by Jósa (1896b: 390, 392, 396, 400, 402)

Grave	Condition	Placement within the Gravepit
2G	Formless	Outside the right femur
3F	Very fragmented, corroded	In an arched 700mm line from the left shoulder to the femur of the human skeleton
7A	Corroded	Beside the left hand and outwardly parallel to the skeleton, in an approx. 200-300mm long line
9J	Flat Pencil thin and extremely	Beside the left hand, outwardly parallel to skeleton in 200-300mm line with iron fragments, and positioned to oppose a dagger On the right side of the torso and upper limb near the shoulder, up near the hand, reaching further down in a slightly bent line
10K	Notably thickish, likely for a bow or its accessories	On the right side of the skeleton, stretching from the armpit to the knee in a slightly bent line

Plates 1-32

A Selection of the Artefacts examined at the Hungarian National Museum, May/June 2011

(all photographs by the Author, except where otherwise indicated)

Plate 1 - Low-grade silver mounts shaped in extended leaf design with incised circles and top triangle to emphasis their shape, among Benepuszta assemblage

Plate 2 - One of a pair of Stirrups from Vereb that Érdy noted as resembling those found in graves in Livland (Érdy, 1858: Plate II.1)

Plate 3 - Obverse of Belt Strap End from Vereb, showing incised design

Plate 4 – Pentagonal Mount with Ring from the Vereb assemblage. The pentagon displayed a floral motif on the obverse of the plate and the ring attachment was recessed along its inner circumference. Both parts of the artefact appeared to have been gilded.

Plate 5 – A five-pointed Star and Crescent Pendant in the Anarcs Collection. The star points had embossed nodules, while the centre of the star was a protruding dome-shape with a central nodule. The crescent was divided into two sections, with a floral motif in each.

Plate 6 - Galgocz sabretache coverplate found in 1853. The motif depicts interwoven trefoil foliage frequently described as palmettes. Around its perimeter are rivets for securing the plate to another artefact, possibly a leather pouch.
(Image extracted from László, Gyula, 2005, *Árpád Népe*, Helikon Kiadó, Budapest, p. 60. Author's photograph did not reproduce adequately)

Plate 7 – Brass ring from Bezdéd female Grave 14d. The face has a simple hand-beaten 'star flower and dots' motif. The band is plain.

Plate 9 – Horse's Bit stored with the Bezdéd Grave 8I assemblage, noting the ringed ends, not straight rods (HNM Inv. 86/1896.216)

Plate 8 – Sabretache Coverplate from Szolyva, displaying a continuous palmette motif inside a double ribbed border with tri-noduled embossings at intervals around the sides and bottom, and a double-layered fringed ribbon border across

Plate 10 – Obverse of Sabretache Coverplate from Grave 8I at Bezdéd, displaying the central Orthodox Christian cross surrounded by foliage of interconnected palmettes, and mythical animals either side of the foliage, and each field is filled with punched dots. This motif is then surrounded by a further border of trefoil plants

Plate 11 – Heavily corroded Sabre or Sword recovered from male Grave 8I at Bezdéd. Cross bars on the hilt are absent

Plate 12 – Three of the arrowheads from the Bezdéd Grave 8I assemblage

Plate 13 - Small round stud mounts found at Benepuszta: 37 intact, two partials and two tiny fragments

Plate 14 Small Foliate Vertical Mounts of silver with gilding found at Vereb

Plate 15 Circlet with opened terminal found at Vereb

Plate 16 Coin 1 found at Vereb (numbered here 53)

Plate 17 One of pair of hanging baubles, possibly an earring with a foliate motif impressed all around and a gold coloured ring attached, found at Galgocz

Plate 18 Twisted wire Neckring found at Galgocz

Plate 19 Silver Bracelet with rounded terminals found at Szolyva

Plate 20 Szolyva Quiver End Fragment. The remains of possible feathered ends of arrows stretch from the bottom of the 'quiver end' fragment to within 3-4 mm of its opening.

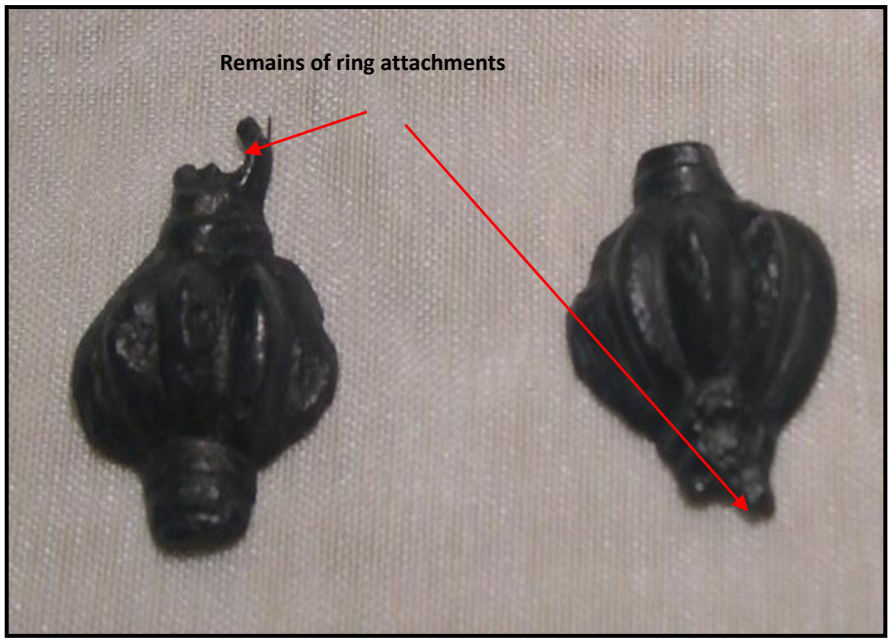

Plate 21 Ridged and edge-bound Baubles, among the Szolyva assemblage

Plate 22 Four-edged Spear or lance blade from Bezdéd male Grave 7A, showing three of its four edges

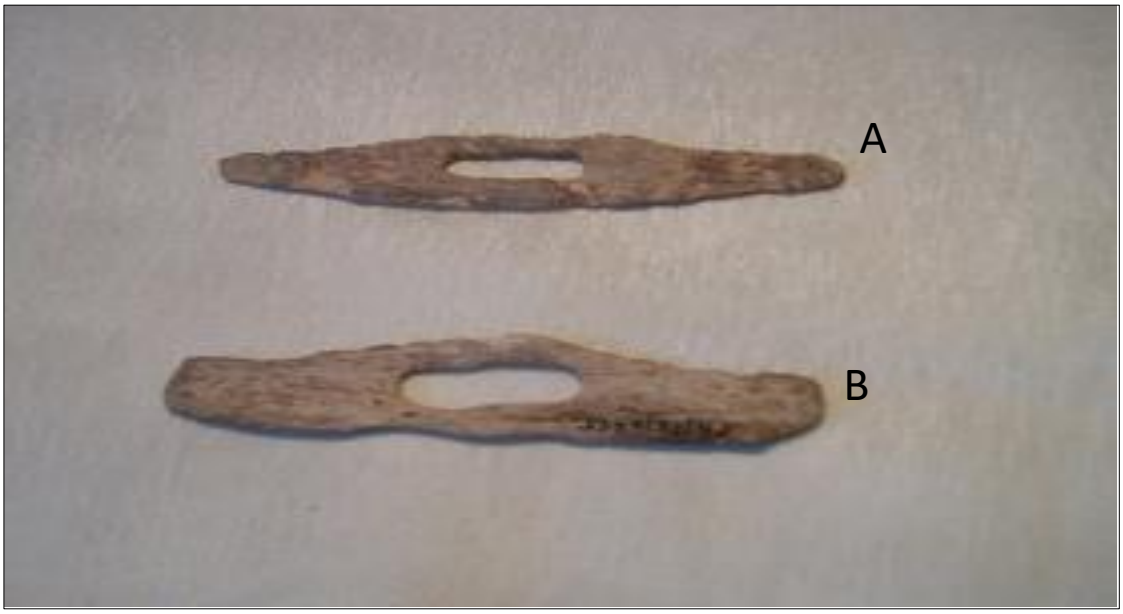

Plate 23 Two small Bone fragments stored as Bezdéd male Grave 7A artefacts, each with a carved central hole

Plate 24 Small Whetstone/Grinding stone, maybe of marble, in Bezdéd male Grave 8I (HNM Inv. 86/1896.233)

Plate 25 Small Whetstone recovered from Bezdéd male Grave 3F, showing a smooth shiny surface and a drilled hole at one end

Plate 26 Artefact (HNM Inv. 86/1896.124) found in the Bezdéd male Grave 3F storage box at the HNM, but could be the whetstone/grinding stone reported for Grave 4D

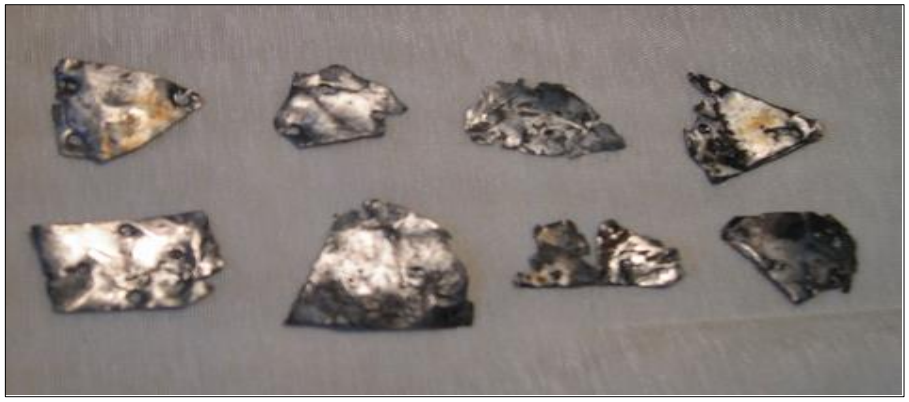

Plate 27 Silver-plate fragments in Bezdéd male Grave 4D

Plate 28 Heart-shaped silver mount with four nodes in Bezdéd male Grave 1H

Plate 29 Reverse of silver belt strap-end from Bezdéd male Grave 8I

Plate 30 Spangles or hanging ornaments from Bezdéd female Grave 16f

Plate 31 Beads/Pendants: 10 full and 6 half pieces, from male Grave 10K at Bezdéd

Plate 32 Beads stored with assemblage for Bezdéd female Grave 15e

Plates 33-45

The Scholars – Linguists, Antiquarian and Archaeologists

Plate 33: Portrait of János Sajnovics (Tamás Vladár, 2005)

Plate 34: Portrait of Sámuel Gyarmathi (Le Calloc'h, B., 1991)

Plate 35: Portrait of Josef Budenz after 1880 (Wikipedia, 2017)

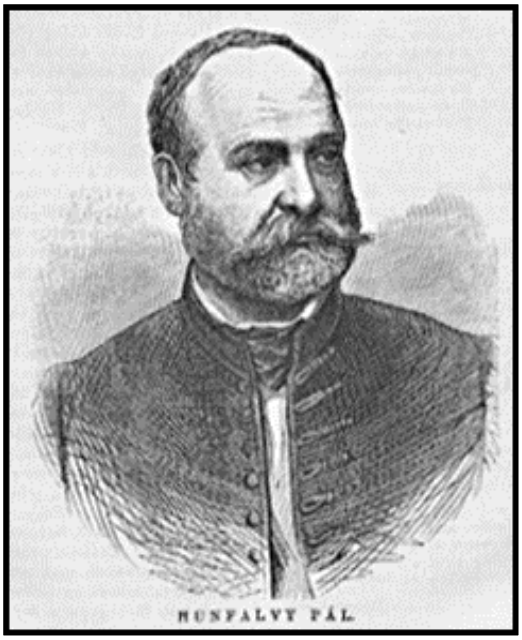

Plate 36: Portrait of Pál Hunfalvy dressed in a traditional Hungarian man's velvet suit with toggled buttons (Heckenast, G. (ed.), 1862)

Plate 37: Portrait of Ármin Vámbéry at his desk (Vámbéry, 1905: Cover)

Plate 38: Portrait of Miklós Jankowich, artist: József Pesky, painted for the display "Fényesebb a láncnál a kard" [in English, the Sword is Brighter than the Chain] commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the 1848-49 Revolution (Kottra Gy. Cs. (ed.), 1999)

Plate 39 - Portrait of Ferencz Aurel Pulszky aged 23, artist: Sándor Kozina (1808-1873), painted in 1837 (Wikipedia, 2016]

Plate 40 - Portrait of Ferencz Flóris Rómer attired in his prelate's robes and the Rider Cross medal (Visy et al, 2003: 321)

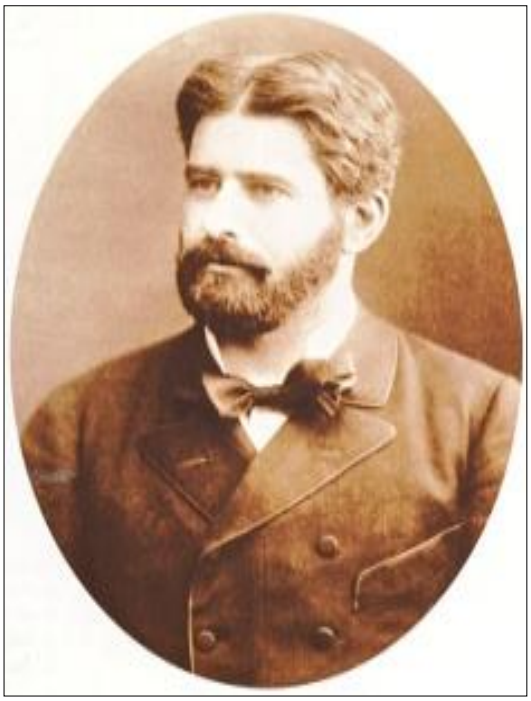

Plate 41: Portrait of József Hampel
(Visy et al, 2003: 322)

Plate 42: Portrait of Tivadar Lehoczky
(www.karpatalja.com, 2016)

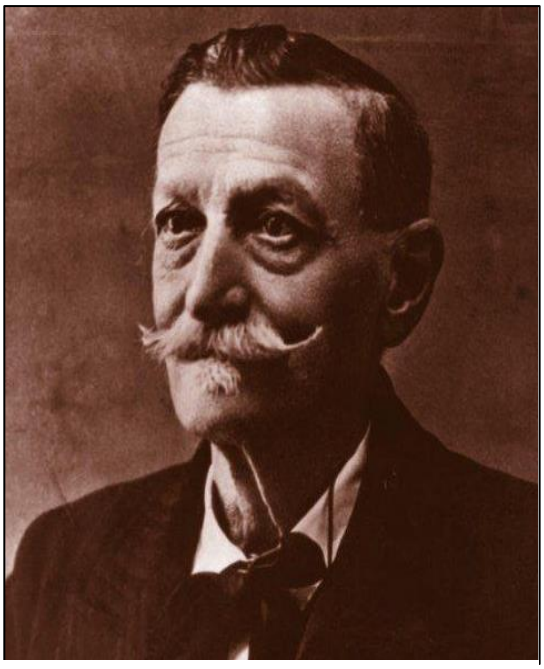

Plate 43: Portrait of András Jósa
(Molnár, Z., 2015, "Jósa, A Polihisztor")

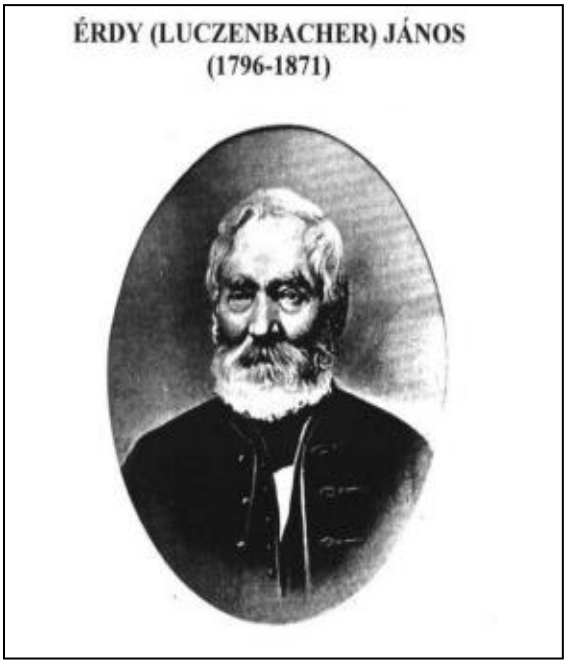

Plate 44: Gravestone Plaque of János Érdy
(Pallag, Z., 2015)

Plate 45: Portrait of Géza Nagy
(Hoisty, P., 2015: 103

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